Gc
929.2
L58d
1132043



Lewis

Originals of coats of arms of Lewis and Washington families

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01329 8465
GENEALOGY
929.2
L58D

6.00



Washington

owned by the Kenmore Association in Fredericksburg, Virginia

M. L.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

KENMORE
and the
LEWISES

Kenmore and the Lewises

BY JANE TAYLOR DUKE

Foreword by

Senator Harry Flood Byrd

1949

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC.

Garden City, New York

Photographs of Kenmore
by Harry Bagby

COPYRIGHT, 1949, BY JANE TAYLOR DUKE
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES
AT
THE COUNTRY LIFE PRESS, GARDEN CITY, N. Y.

FIRST EDITION

1132043

TO

Louise du Pont Crowninshield

AND

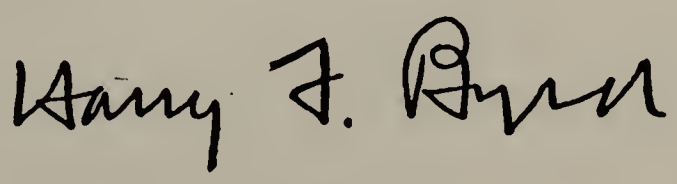
Bertha Crosley Ball

Foreword

THE STORY of Kenmore is now faithfully preserved for the future just as is the fine old mansion itself. The facts recorded by Mrs. Jane Taylor Duke in *Kenmore and the Lewises* tell the story of a fascinating family whose influence spread from their Virginia home in Fredericksburg to the best of our history, tradition, and institutions.

Those who are privileged to see Kenmore are deeply indebted to the Kenmore Association for the fidelity with which the restoration of the home has been accomplished, and for the authorization of this volume in which Mrs. Duke so genuinely animates the shrine.

Kenmore itself, together with the book, *Kenmore and the Lewises*, stirs a stimulating pride in our past and an impelling inspiration for our future.



Harry Flood Byrd
Member of the United States Senate from Virginia

Preface

YEARS OF familiarity with Fredericksburg, Virginia, and her hospitable people, and with the old Lewis home even before its restoration, together with the knowledge that it was the earnest desire of a beloved friend, Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming, that a complete history of Kenmore be written, encouraged the author to undertake the research for this volume.

Official records have been obtained mainly from the original Virginia county records, particularly those of Spotsylvania, Westmoreland, and Frederick counties; from the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, the Journals of the two houses of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Calendar of State Papers, the Journal of the Virginia Committee of Safety; from the American Archives, the diaries of Washington and the writings of Washington, to mention only a few of the sources recorded in the Notes in this volume. The New York Public Library, the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, the Virginia State Library, the Library of Congress, and the Mount Vernon Ladies' As-

sociation have kindly permitted the photographing of original material now in their possession.

In order to facilitate the reading of the letters of George Washington, Fielding Lewis, Betty Washington Lewis, and young Betty Lewis, used in this volume, the author has taken the liberty of paragraphing the letters and changing to modern spelling certain words which were written in the spelling of an earlier day.

In spite of constant search over a long period of years, investigators have been unable to ascertain the original name of the seat of Colonel Fielding Lewis adjoining Fredericksburg, if, indeed, it had one. The present name, Kenmore, was given to the mansion after it passed from the Lewis family, and has become so closely associated with the old home for more than a century that it is now generally accepted.

There have been so many citizens of Fredericksburg and other patriotic Americans who, through the years, by their sympathy, co-operation, and generosity, have helped make Kenmore one of America's most beautiful shrines, that the writer has found it impossible to mention each of them in this volume.

Grateful acknowledgment is due the following individuals and institutions: the Rev. G. Maclaren Brydon, Miss Nancy Byrd Turner, Dr. Malcolm H. Harris, Mrs. Rose MacDonald Skaggs, Mr. Edward Gay Butler, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Mr. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Hon. Charles W. Lewis, Jr., Dr. Francis Duke, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, Dr. Fiske Kimball, Mr. Philip N. Stern, Mr. Francis L. Berkeley, Mr. Claude M. Fuess, Mr. Thomas Waterman, Mr. Bryan Conrad, Mr. and Mrs. Flavius Burfoot Walker, Jr., Mr. Burnley Lewis, Judge Alvin T.

Embrey, Colonel Merrow Egerton Sorley, Mr. Charles F. Gillette, Dr. Wyndham Blanton, Dr. Archibald Henderson, Dr. Kathleen Bruce, Mr. and Mrs. John Hosea Kerr, Jr., Mrs. Meta P. Taylor, Mrs. Alfred Withers, Miss Anne Page Vandergrift, the late Dr. Maude Woodfin, the late Hon. Alexander W. Weddell, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Gordon, Mrs. Francis B. Crowninshield, Mrs. Horace H. Smith, Mrs. Robert Carter Nicholas Grymes (Lucy B. Lewis), Mr. Alexander Gordon, Mr. E. G. Swem, Mr. Barron M. Franz, Mrs. Frank W. Duke, Mr. Charles C. Wall, Miss Irene Warren, Miss Clara Claasen, Miss Irene Moore, and others; *House Beautiful* magazine, Houghton Mifflin Company, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Frick Art Reference Library, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Division of Manuscripts of Library of Congress, staff of Alderman Library, University of Virginia, staff of the Virginia State Library, Manuscript Division of the College of William and Mary, Virginia Historical Society, Division of Manuscripts of Duke University.

The writer wishes particularly to thank Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, historian, author, and editor; the Rev. Clayton G. Torrence, editor, author, and corresponding secretary of the Virginia Historical Society; and Dr. Hamilton James Eckenrode, author, and director of the Division of History and Archaeology of the Virginia Conservation Division, and William Dabney Duke, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Kenmore Association, who have aided in the preparation of this volume.

Special appreciation is given to Mrs. Edmund Burke Ball, under whose auspices this work has been projected and through whose generosity it has been accomplished.

Contents

	FOREWORD, BY SENATOR HARRY FLOOD BYRD	vii
	PREFACE	ix
I	*Fielding Lewis*	1
II	*Betty Washington*	16
III	*Dream of the Builders*	27
IV	*Man of Affairs*	37
V	*A Dream Fulfilled*	45
VI	*Compleat Housewife*	50
VII	*Of Journeyings and Negotiations*	57
VIII	*Road to Revolution*	62
IX	*Calm Before the Storm*	75
X	*Decisive Days*	83
XI	*Champion of Liberty*	89
XII	*The Women's Part*	122
XIII	*Last Years of a Patriot*	130

Contents

XIV	*Kenmore, Millbrook, and Western View*	149
XV	*The Lewis Children*	176
XVI	*Vicissitudes of Kenmore*	184
XVII	*Restoration*	198
XVIII	*The Mansion*	210
XIX	*Through the Years*	224
	NOTES	235
	APPENDIX	258
	INDEX	259

Illustrations

	Facing Page
Eastern entrance of Kenmore, on river front	14
Main entrance of Kenmore, with dependencies	15
The hall door to main entrance	15
The Great Room with windows toward the east, showing portion of the elaborately designed ceiling	46
Another view of the Great Room displaying the famous overmantel designed by George Washington	47
Dining room	78
The library with windows toward eastern front	79
Betty Lewis's room, showing the bed she originally used	110
The Nursery	110
Mrs. Mary Washington's room	111
The guest room	142
Kitchen in outbuilding to north of the mansion	143
View from the portico on eastern front of Kenmore	174
Brick walk bordered with box bushes, ivy, and periwinkle on grounds to the east of the mansion	175

Illustrations

Summerhouse with herbs in foreground 214

Facsimile of page from Washington Bible, courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 215

Facsimile of letter from Colonel Fielding Lewis to Colonel George Brooke, Treasurer of the State of Virginia 230

Portrait of Colonel Fielding Lewis in the Great Room at Kenmore 231

Portrait of Betty Washington Lewis in the Great Room at Kenmore 231

KENMORE
and the
LEWISES

CHAPTER I

Fielding Lewis

GLOUCESTER, one of the favored counties of Tidewater Virginia, is separated by the York River from James City and York counties, its eastern border washed by the Mobjack Bay which sends inland five broad-sweeping rivers. The mild climate, fertile soil, and above all the innumerable watercourses of Gloucester offered alluring prospects to settlers coming to the new country. It is small wonder that a gentleman journeying through the Old Dominion in the early days described Gloucester as "the best peopled of any county in Virginia."[1]

When Augustine Warner, Gentleman, arrived in Virginia in the early part of the seventeenth century,[2] he patented two hundred and fifty acres in Charles River County (afterward York), on the twelfth day of October 1635, "one neck of ground called by the name of Pynie Neck lying at the new Poquoson due . . . for the transportation at his own expence . . . of five persons."[3] Three years later he obtained four hundred and fifty acres in the same county . . .

"Due for his own personal adventure also the adventure of his wife Mary Warner and the transportation of nine persons."[4] Augustine Warner acquired six hundred acres in that part of York which later became Gloucester County, "lying and being in Severne in the first river in Mobjack Bay, beginning on the north side of the Severne called Austins Desire," due for transporting twelve persons.[5] He added to his holdings from year to year, at one time receiving twenty-five hundred acres "for the transportation of fifty persons into this colony."[6] His last recorded grant was 10,100 acres, part in Rappahannock and part in New Kent counties ". . . being due unto Colonel Augustine Warner by and for the transportation of two hundred and two persons 8 October 1672."[7]

It was upon the acres "lying in Severn" that Augustine Warner established himself and became prominent in the political and social life of the colony. He was captain in the Virginia militia and also appears with the title of colonel,[8] justice of York County and later of Gloucester County,[9] member of the House of Burgesses, first from York and then Gloucester,[10] and was appointed a member of the King's Council.[11] He married Mary (surname unknown) and, after acquiring a considerable plantation, built his home on land overlooking the Severn River which affords easy access, by way of Mobjack, to Chesapeake Bay and the sea.

Warner Hall, the seat of Colonel Warner, commands extensive views of land and water and was one of the most famous of the early plantation houses in Virginia. The original structure is said to have been a modest brick dwelling which was gradually enlarged and, with the addition of flanking outbuildings, had a frontage of a hundred and thirty feet.

The old mansion was destroyed by fire almost a century ago, and a handsome modern house stands upon the site of the original building. Fortunately the two brick dependencies of Warner Hall were saved from the flames. The one on the right containing five rooms was probably used for offices, schoolrooms, or guests. The kitchen building on the left of the mansion also has five rooms. Of particular interest in the main kitchen is the original stone floor, and an immense fireplace where it is said that half an ox could easily have been roasted. The unusual size and importance as well as the substantial construction of the dependencies clearly indicate that the original home of the Warner and Lewis families was a mansion of great distinction. It is easy to believe that the entire establishment contained the twenty-six rooms attributed to it.[12] Several of the broad red tiles of the roof which was a unique feature of the original Warner Hall have been preserved.[13]

On the river front of Warner Hall the lawn sweeps down for a hundred yards to the blue waters of the Severn, and the entrance front is approached by a very long avenue of tall trees, with other trees forming a magnificent grove before the house. The gnarled trunks and branches of the ancient mulberries, polonias, walnuts, poplars, and oaks give evidence of their great age. Among the old buildings which survived the fire are an old smokehouse near the kitchen containing three rooms, an impressive stable, and a shingle-covered cow house. A short walk from these buildings leads to the old burying ground of the Warner and Lewis families, surrounded by a brick wall.

After the death of Colonel Warner in 1674, his estate was inherited by his only son, Augustine Warner, Jr., born

June 3, 1642, who, at the age of sixteen, was enrolled as a pupil at the Merchant Tailor's School in London where a considerable number of young Virginians were educated.[14] It is probable that he also attended one of the great English universities. After returning to Virginia he, like his father before him, occupied positions of influence and distinction. He was colonel commandant of the Gloucester County militia,[15] Speaker of the House of Burgesses,[16] and at the same time was appointed to the high office of councilor.[17] He married Mildred, daughter of Colonel George and Elizabeth (Martiau) Reade, both of whom were members of families of conspicuous prominence in the colony. To Speaker Warner and his wife were born three sons and three daughters. It is evident that they lived for a while at the Warner estate, Chescake, on the Pianketank River, and it was there their oldest daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1672. After the death of his father, Speaker Warner and his family resided at Warner Hall, and after his death at the age of thirty-nine his wife Mildred (Reade) Warner continued to reside there during her lifetime.

Although there have been many suppositions, because of the lack of authentic proof, the immigrant ancestor of the Lewis family of Virginia whose descendants later lived at Warner Hall has not been known with absolute certainty. It has hitherto been assumed by some writers that Robert Lewis of Brecon, Wales, was the first ancestor of the Lewis family to come to America. The recent finding of three Lewis tombstones, in a long-abandoned graveyard located in a clump of trees and bushes four miles west of Poropotank Creek in what was originally the county of New Kent, now King and Queen, has added to the knowledge about the early progeni-

tors of this distinguished family and has made it seem extremely likely that John Lewis, born in Monmouthshire, England, in 1594, was the first of the Lewis family of Warner Hall to arrive in this country.

One of the stones in the ancient burying ground has been broken in the middle. Fortunately about a third part is left, which bears the legend:

HERE LIETH INTERRED THE BODY OF IOHN LEWIS
(BORNE IN MUNMOTH SHIRE)
DIED THE 21TH OF AUGUST 1657
AGED 63 YEARS
THE ANAGRAM OF HIS NAME
I SHEW NO ILL

A decorative pattern at the head of the stone, which is nearly obliterated, is in all probability the Lewis coat of arms.

The second of the flat marble slabs is decorated at its head with an elaborate circular design which includes both an hourglass and a death's-head. Below it is the inscription:

HERE LYETH INTERED THE BODY OF MRS ISABALLA YARD
BORN THE 24TH OF AUGUST 1640
AND DEPARTED THIS LIFE YE 9TH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1703/4
AGED 6 [—] YEARS 5 MONTHS & 16 DAYS

The third stone is broken into several pieces. When fitted together, they give only a fragment of the original legend:

HERE . . . THE BODY OF WI . . . LEWIS SON
OF C . . . LEWIS AND . . . DEPARTED . . .[18]

Kenmore and the Lewises

The recorded patents given to the Lewis family make it apparent that the names shown in the recently found tombstones were of the same persons. Mr. John Lewis was granted 250 acres on Poropotank Creek in Gloucester County for the transfer of five persons into the colony on July 1, 1653—John Lewis, Lidia Lewis, William Lewis, Edward Lewis, and John Lewis, Jr. Two years later John Lewis, Jr., patented 250 acres "at the main swamp of Poropotanke Creek, running down the same from the land of Colonel Richard Lee to Beech Spring, etc." In 1667 he added to his land and had a patent of a total of 2600 acres lying on both sides of the creek, in New Kent and Gloucester counties.[19]

In 1680 John Lewis was a captain of horse in New Kent and a justice. His wife was named Isabella, we learn from the tombstone of Councilor John Lewis at Warner Hall. Mrs. Isabella Yard was undoubtedly his wife or else she would not have been buried in the Lewis graveyard. She evidently married again after Lewis's death. A Robert Yard appears in the Petsworth Parish across the creek in Gloucester in 1690, when he was elected a vestryman in Petsworth Parish.[20]

William Lewis, whose name appeared on the mutilated stone, was a son of one of the John Lewises; the "C" remaining on the stone in all probability referred to either "Captain," "Colonel," or "Councilor." He may have been the well-known Major William Lewis who owned much land which passed to the Warner Hall Lewis family.

It was probably around 1690 or 1692 that John Lewis, Jr., son of John Lewis and his wife Isabella, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Speaker Augustine Warner and his wife Mildred (Reade).[21] John Lewis, Jr., was a man of considerable consequence and political influence in the colony

and held a number of public offices. He was captain of the Gloucester County militia and later colonel, and in 1704 was appointed a member of His Majesty's Council.[22] He was one of the wealthiest men of his day, owning vast tracts of land of which his holdings in King and Queen County amounted to 10,100 acres.[23] Councilor Lewis and his wife, Elizabeth Warner, appear to have lived for some years after their marriage on the Chemokins plantation in St. Peter's Parish until, after the death of her last surviving brother, Mrs. Lewis came into possession of the Warner estate around 1701–02. It was in this way that Warner Hall came into the Lewis family. Elizabeth Warner Lewis died in 1720 and was buried in the family graveyard at Warner Hall where her father and grandparents are buried. Among the sons of Councilor John Lewis, Jr., and his wife were Colonel John Lewis of Warner Hall, Charles Lewis of The Byrd in Goochland County, and Colonel Robert Lewis of Belvoir in Albemarle County.

Colonel John Lewis III, eldest son of Councilor John Lewis, Jr., and his wife inherited the Warner Hall estate, which by this time had become one of the important social centers of Virginia. Thither around 1718 he brought his bride, Frances Fielding, daughter and heiress of Henry Fielding, Gentleman, of King and Queen County.[24] In his will, dated October 26, 1704, Henry Fielding, after making several other bequests, left "to my dear daughter Frances Fielding, all the residue of my property both in England and America."[25]

Since John Lewis III bore first the title of major in 1731, and in 1734 that of colonel, it is almost certain that he served as head of the militia in Gloucester County. When in 1748

he arrived at the age of fifty-four, he was appointed a member of the King's Council,[26] and he continued to occupy his seat in the General Assembly until his death. History is woven in the registers of the colonial churches of Virginia. In the old Abingdon Parish Register is recorded the birth of the third son of the Lewis family: "Fielding, the son of Captain John Lewis and Mrs. Frances, his wife, was born July ye 7th, and baptized July ye 16th, 1725."[27]

It was a fair country in which Fielding Lewis was reared, with moderate climate and tempered winds. The great plantation of more than three thousand acres which comprised the Warner Hall estate provided an ample playground for the activities of growing boys. It must have been a happy childhood that young Fielding spent roaming and hunting over the fields and through the woods in companionship with his older brother Warner and his younger brothers John and Charles and his stepbrother Robert Carter, or riding over the countryside on horseback. The nearby creeks and rivers in the county offered glorious opportunities for fishing, crabbing, swimming, and sailing or rowing boats. Ships came and went along the Mobjack Bay, often sailing up the Severn River which "makes in" from the bay, and docking at the wharves of the Lewis plantation. The arrival of one of their father's schooners from England was naturally a source of unfailing interest to the children. We may imagine their excitement when news spread over the plantation that "a ship is coming in!" In addition to the supervision of his agricultural interests and the time he devoted to public services for the colony, Colonel John Lewis owned a number of vessels and had his own private landings and warehouses. He

engaged in a flourishing trade, shipping to foreign ports quantities of tobacco and grain grown on his plantation.

When only six years old, Fielding Lewis experienced a great loss in the death of his lovely mother on October 27, 1731.[28] According to the custom of the day, Colonel John Lewis was not long in finding a new companion. He chose for his second wife Priscilla Churchill,[29] who was the widow of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall in Westmoreland County, son of Robert "King" Carter of Corotoman. She brought with her to Warner Hall her two children by her first marriage, Robert and Elizabeth Carter.

Brought up from early childhood on tales of old Gloucester, the children at Warner Hall must have thrilled as they listened to stories of the days when Nathaniel Bacon led his rebels across the York River into Gloucester after the burning of Jamestown and made his headquarters at Warner Hall. Some said that death overtook him with his helmet on, and there was another tradition that he was buried under an old beech tree near Bacon's Spring.[30] The boys probably rode over to Werewocomoco on the York River and saw a great stone chimney crumbling to ruins and learned that it was all that remained of one of the dwellings of the great Indian ruler Powhatan. It was part of a house which Captain John Smith was said to have ordered built for the ruler after his daughter Pocahontas had saved his life.

As the Lewis children wandered about over the plantation, it is likely they frequently visited the family burying ground situated a very short distance from the mansion. Perhaps their father pointed out to them the resting places of

their forebears and read aloud to them the inscriptions on the tombstones of their great-great-grandparents:

AUGUSTINE WARNER, GENT.,
DECEASED YE 24TH DAY OF DECEMBER 1674
AGED 63 YEARS 2 MOS 26 DAYS

Tho' dead while most men live, he cannot dye
His name will live fresh in their memory
His worth is highly shown in living well
When future ages of his life shall tell.

MARY WARNER, WIFE OF AUGUSTINE WARNER GENT.
WAS BORN 15TH DAY OF MAY 1614,
AND DYED YE 11TH DAY OF AUGUST 1662.

Here lyes entombed ye Phoenix of her tyme
Whose rare virtues dyne
. we cannot say
Tho' dead, ye Phoenix ever dyed away.

Of their great-grandparent:

HERE LYETH YE BODY OF
COLL AUGUSTINE WARNER
(SON OF AUGUSTINE AND MARY WARNER)
WHO WAS BORN YE 3RD DAY OF JUNE 1642
AND DYED YE
19TH DAY OF JUNE 1681.

An unmarked grave near that of "Coll Augustine Warner" may have been that of his wife Mildred (Reade) Warner.

Two graves side by side were probably shown to the Lewis children as those of their grandparents:

Fielding Lewis

HERE LYETH INTERRED
THE BODY OF COLLO JOHN LEWIS
SON OF JOHN AND ISABELLA LEWIS
AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S HONBLE
COUNCIL FOR THIS COLONY WHO WAS
BORN YE 30TH OF NOVBR 1669
DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON YE 14TH OF NOVBR 1725

HERE LYETH INTERRED YE BODY OF
ELIZABETH LEWIS YE DAUGHTER OF
COLL AUGUSTINE WARNER AND MILDRED
HIS WIFE, AND YE LATE WIFE OF
JOHN LEWIS ESQ.
SHE WAS BORN AT CHESAKE, THE 24TH
OF NOVEMBER 1672
SHE WAS THE TENDER MOTHER OF 14 CHILDREN.

It is probable that the children of Colonel John Lewis were instructed by a private tutor, as was customary among the wealthy planter families in Virginia. There are no records to confirm our knowledge of Fielding Lewis's education. It is possible that he attended the Peasley School, built upon land left by Henry Peasley "for the youth of Abingdon Parish." Although Colonel John Lewis sent his eldest son Warner to school in England, and his stepson Robert Carter at an early age attended the College of William and Mary, we do not know where Fielding Lewis went to school. We may be certain, however, that the choice volumes in the library at Warner Hall provided ample means for young Lewis to acquaint himself with the best thought of classic writers. The executive ability shown by Fielding Lewis when filling positions of trust in the colony in subsequent years indicates his

having gained knowledge in the direction of law and politics. The graceful, flowing handwriting of his letters shows his good penmanship. The books in his library and the furnishings in his home, as recorded in the inventory of his estate in later years, disclose his discriminating taste and good judgment.

The family background and early training of Fielding Lewis had a profound influence on his career. At Warner Hall the continual coming and going of men in public office in Williamsburg, and of friends and relations from the nearby counties, gave him opportunity to hear conversations among Virginians as they expressed their political opinions. The portraits of his Warner and Lewis grandparents adorning the walls, and the inscriptions on flat tombstones which marked their resting places in the family burying ground, all must have left impressions upon his youthful mind which seem to have been enduring. Brought up in a home of wealth and luxury, there is little doubt that young Fielding aspired to become worthy of his distinguished forebears, whose lives were devoted to the interests of the colony and of the Established Church.

It is apparent that Fielding Lewis accompanied his father on trips to other counties from time to time. Like other men of Gloucester, Colonel John Lewis owned considerable holdings in Spotsylvania County, and certain entries in his account books show that both he and his son were attending the fair in Fredericksburg on September 2, 1744, when Fielding was nineteen years of age. At that time Colonel John Lewis paid William Potter, wigmaker in Fredericksburg, fourteen shillings "for making his son a wigg, and finding some hair." And at the same time he paid William Potter

two shillings sixpence "for shaving his son Fielding, and dressing his wigs at the June Fair."[31]

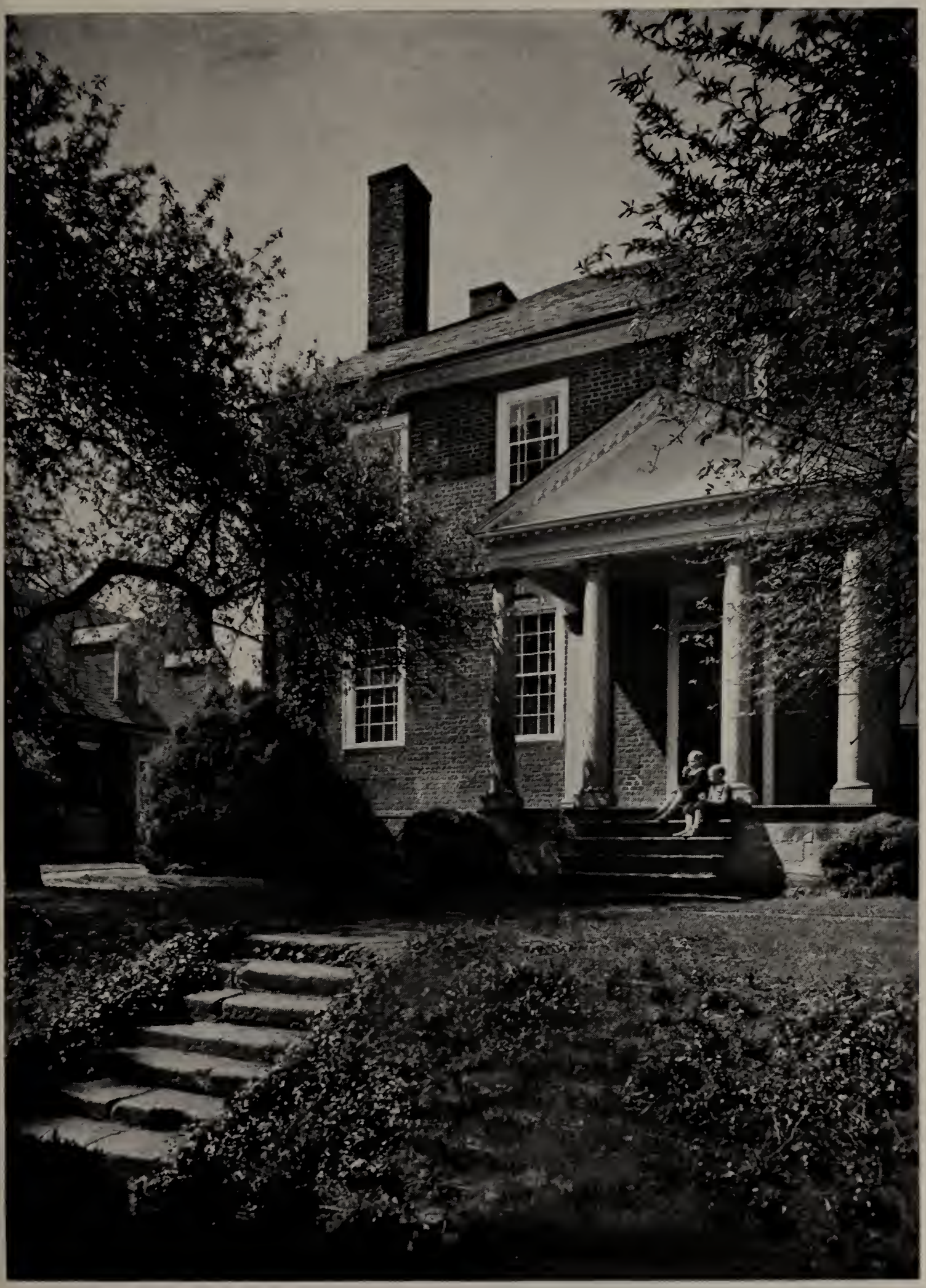
On coming of age Fielding Lewis married Catharine,[32] daughter of Major John and Catharine (Whiting) Washington of Highgate, Gloucester County. Since John and Augustine Washington were brothers, Catharine Lewis was a first cousin of George and Betty Washington and their brothers, and second cousin of her husband. Fielding Lewis brought his wife to live in Fredericksburg and they settled in a home in (or near) the town.

Lewis soon became identified with the life of the county and the colony. Recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers* is "An Account of Sundry Expenses of running the Boundary Line of the Northern Neck—between His Majesty and Lord Fairfax—Paid by His Majesty's Commissioners," then follows a list of names of persons to whom sums of money have been paid—among them are "Henry Downs, Andrew Campbell, Fielding Lewis, John Gordon, William Nelson, L. Lomax, Chas. Carter, Dr. George Gilmer, Brooke, Peter Jefferson, etc." Some of the articles furnished for the expedition into the wilderness of Virginia in the year 1747 were: "Kettle and pewter bason, seven horses, ax, tent, barrell of sugar, horse bell and pack saddle."[33] The account is signed by Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax, and Peter Hedgeman. It would be of interest to know which of the articles were furnished by Fielding Lewis. He may perhaps at that time have already established his store, which is often referred to.

At this period in his career Lewis had not long been settled in Fredericksburg before his natural ability, striking personality, and distinguished connections won for him a position of prominence in the county. At a meeting of the coun-

cil on April 27, 1748, Fielding Lewis, Gentleman, was appointed one of the gentleman justices of Spotsylvania County. This office was of significant importance. The justices were appointed by the governor and, according to the act of 1661–62, were to be chosen from among the "most able, honest and judicious citizens of their respective counties."[34] It was a test of a man's social as well as his political standing in the community. Moreover, the justices could only be appointed to fill the position after having first been recommended by the county court. We find it was "Ordered that Fielding Lewis, John Spotswood, and Charles Dick, Gentlemen, be presented to His Honor, Sir William Gooch, Bart., as persons qualified to be added to the Commission of the Peace of this county." The ceremony was duly recorded in the county records when, on Tuesday, February 7, 1748, "Fielding Lewis, John Spotswood, and Charles Dick, Gentlemen, came into court and accepted the Commission of the Peace and took the oaths appointed by the Law, and signed the Test, also oaths of Justice of the Peace."[35]

The county court had jurisdiction of all cases of law and equity for the administration of justice and cared for the welfare of the community, having charge of taxation and of preparing lists of tithables for both civil and church levies. The justices supervised the condition of the roads and appointed surveyors; regulated the rate of exchange between tobacco and currency; gave licenses to inns and ordinaries; registered valuable papers, deeds, wills, inventories, and appraisals. Many of the presentments by the grand jury were concerned with public morals, so the court co-operated with the vestry of the parish. People of all classes gathered at the



Eastern entrance of Kenmore, on river front



Main entrance of Kenmore, with dependencies

The hall door to main entrance
(gun made at the gun factory over dining-room door, to right)



monthly sessions of the court, coming from the small farms as well as the town and the neighboring plantations.

Lewis became actively engaged in commerce and owned a store, vessel, and warehouses. Following in his father's footsteps, he shipped cargoes of grain and tobacco to foreign markets, receiving necessary supplies in return. According to Mrs. Fleming, he was prosperous and he and his lady were popular. Catharine Lewis lived only a short time after her marriage; she died on February 19, 1750.[36] Of the three children born to Fielding and Catharine Lewis, only John, the eldest, survived.[37]

CHAPTER II

Betty Washington

Among the prominent Englishmen who came to Virginia around the middle of the seventeenth century was John Washington, born 1632/33,[1] son of the Rev. Lawrence Washington, M.A., Oxford, rector of Purleigh, Essex, England. John Washington's brother Lawrence[2] and their sister Martha followed him later.[3] When John Washington sailed for America in the autumn of 1658 in the ketch *Sea Horse of London*, he was about twenty-five years old.[4] He settled at Bridges Creek in Westmoreland County where, in accordance with the instincts of his ancestors for landed possessions, he acquired considerable tracts of land.[5] Shortly after his arrival he married Ann, daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Nathaniel Pope, a man of wealth and importance.[6] After establishing himself in Westmoreland, John Washington soon took rank among the important men of the colony. He was vestryman in Appomattox (soon afterward renamed Washington) Parish,[7] major of the Westmoreland militia, justice of the court of that county, and in the year 1666 was

elected burgess of the colony of Virginia.[8] Major John Washington, Gentleman, died in 1677, and "he was buried on the plantation on which he resided."[9]

Lawrence, eldest son of Major John Washington, inherited the family estate at Bridges Creek.[10] It was to this home, which probably stood on the eastern edge of Bridges Creek, that Lawrence Washington brought his wife, Mildred Warner, daughter of Colonel Augustine Warner of Warner Hall.[11] It is likely that their marriage took place within a few years of the date when Mildred Warner's sister, Elizabeth Warner, was married to Councilor John Lewis of New Kent County.

In later years Betty Washington, granddaughter of Mildred (Warner) Washington, was married to Fielding Lewis, grandson of Elizabeth (Warner) Lewis, and they were the builders of Kenmore.

When Lawrence Washington died at the age of thirty-six years, he left three small children, John, Augustine, and Mildred. His widow, Mildred (Warner) Washington, married George Gale of Whitehaven, Cumberland, England,[12] and they went to England, taking the three children with them. Mildred Gale died within the year and is buried at St. Nicholas Church, Whitehaven.[13]

John and Augustine Washington were sent to school in Appleby, England. After returning to America, John Washington, the eldest son, married Catharine Whiting and established himself in Gloucester County.[14] The daughter, Mildred Washington, married first Roger Gregory, and second, Henry Willis, "top man of Fredericksburg."[15] Augustine Washington settled in Westmoreland County and at the age of twenty-one he married Jane Butler, daughter of a

Westmoreland neighbor.[16] His first wife, Jane Butler Washington, died after they had been married fourteen years, leaving him three children, Lawrence, Augustine, and Jane.[17] Three years later Augustine Washington married Mary, youngest daughter of Colonel Joseph Ball of Epping Forest in Lancaster County and his second wife, a widow, Mary Johnson.[18] Colonel Joseph Ball was the son of Colonel William Ball, who emigrated to Virginia around 1658 and took up his residence on Corotoman Creek in Lancaster.[19] Mary Ball was known in her youth as "the Rose of Epping Forest." In an old letter written from Williamsburg in the year 1722, a relative wrote of her, "Sweet Molly is about sixteen years old . . . very sensible, modest and loving. Her hair is like unto flax . . . and her cheeks are like May blossoms."[20]

The first Washington home is thought to have been on Bridges Creek. A second and larger house was built later, facing the sparkling waters of Pope's Creek. It was in this home, on February 22, 1732, that George, first child of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, was born "about ten in the morning," according to the record in the Washington family Bible.[21]

The following year, on June 20, 1733, a daughter was born to Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, "about six in the morning." Elizabeth she was christened, for her mother's dearly loved sister Elizabeth Johnson Bonhum, and Betty she was called ever afterward.[22] There is no record of where the christening took place. If at church it was probably in the second Appomattox Church, and it is possible the baby wore the same christening robe which her brother had worn sixteen months earlier. It is possible also that the baby was rocked in "a cradle" for which her father had paid a certain

David Jones seven shillings sixpence for making ten years earlier.[23] At the time of Betty Washington's birth, besides her parents and her brother George, the family included two stepbrothers, Lawrence, fifteen years old, Augustine, aged thirteen, and a stepsister Jane, a girl of eleven, who died in the year 1734–35 when Betty was sixteen months old.[24]

Betty was between one and two years of age and her little brother Samuel only a few months old when in 1735 Augustine Washington moved his family from the home on Pope's Creek to his property on the Upper Potomac, known at that time as Hunting Creek, later named Mount Vernon.[25] It was with the plantation on the Upper Potomac that George and Betty Washington's earliest memories were associated, and it was here their younger brothers John Augustine and Charles were born. A little sister named Mildred, born either at Hunting Creek or at Ferry Farm, on the Rappahannock lived only a few months.[26]

Augustine Washington was vestryman of Truro Parish. He was both energetic and successful and was actively engaged in the iron business with the Principio Company of Virginia and Maryland. According to Dr. Charles Moore, it may have been because he could better conduct this business from Fredericksburg than from Hunting Creek that in 1740 he established his family on his river plantation in what was then King George (later Stafford) County.[27]

George Washington was eight and Betty seven years old when the Washington family came to live at Ferry Farm in the comfortable dwelling on a tree-covered bluff overlooking the Rappahannock River, across from the town of Fredericksburg. Here the children lived healthy out-of-door lives, playing on the grassy lawn above the river where full-rigged

ships and smaller craft could be plainly seen on their way to and from the port of Falmouth. We are told that Betty went tagging along with the boys when they would let her. Through all their childish episodes "she was right there, with a sunbonnet tied on tightly, sheepskin mittens and perhaps a flannel mask to preserve her complexion."[28] Like other Virginia girls, Betty no doubt learned to ride a horse at an early age and became in time an expert horsewoman. She must have loved to accompany her brothers on rides along the rough roads of King George County which at that period were mere bridle paths. It is said that Betty went to a dame school about the same time that her brother George was attending a school in Falmouth. The Washingtons, with their children, were regular attendants of the Falmouth Church in Brunswick Parish,[29] in which their home was situated.

The death of Augustine Washington in 1743[30] brought heavy responsibilities to Mary Washington. These she faced with the dauntless spirit which was hers, and proved herself entirely capable of managing both her family and the plantation. George, at the age of eleven years, went to live with his half brother Augustine in his home in Westmoreland County. Betty was instructed by her mother in the domestic arts, and it is more than likely that she started work on a sampler, as was expected of girls in those days. What a picture the little girl must have made, sitting very erect in a straight-backed chair, struggling to learn fine stitchery, discouraged, perhaps, when obliged to pull out threads which were not exactly in place. Although Betty may have shed tears over her daily tasks at times, her troubles were no doubt quickly forgotten when she was free to run out of doors to look for the first snowdrop, or to help the young colored maid Mary, left to

her by her father, to gather new-laid eggs from the hens' nests.

After George returned home from Westmoreland County, all five of the Washington children crossed the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg, where they attended the school taught by the Rev. James Marye, a scholarly Huguenot. They must have enjoyed the ride over the river on the scow, then the steep climb up "Rocky Hill," as the rock-walled lane is still called, where dandelions and buttercups probably bloomed in the crevices between the stones in the early spring, just as they do today. Then a walk through a thicket of woods along a path that became Caroline Street as they approached the town, and a turn into busy Princess Anne Street where the school was located. It was fortunate that Betty was of sturdy build and fleet of foot, for it would have required skill to keep pace with her strong brothers. Fredericksburg was a busy market for farmers bringing their produce from the upcountry as well as from the Northern Neck, and the town doubtless offered many attractions for the young people. There were all kinds of vehicles, from mule-drawn carts to an occasional coach drawn by several horses. Shopwindows were adorned with tempting sugar plums and spiced cakes. The young folk may have stopped to read notices of the fairs which were held twice every year in the town,[31] or of races to be held at the Jockey Club.

When he reached the age of sixteen George Washington went to live with his half brother Lawrence Washington at Mount Vernon, leaving a gap in the household at Ferry Farm which could not be filled. Betty probably continued her studies with Parson Marye, and during her leisure hours she no doubt learned to knit and embroider and was introduced

into the mysteries of jelly and pickle making. Her ready wit and gay laughter made her popular with her young cousins and friends. Busy with her tasks, and with visits to relatives on the neighboring plantations, the days of her girlhood passed swiftly.

We may be certain that Fielding Lewis and his first wife had often enjoyed the hospitality of their relatives at Ferry Farm. After her death he crossed the river to their home even more frequently. In an incredibly short time he found solace for his loneliness in the companionship of his young cousin Betty, who, it is said, was at that time a mannerly maid[32] of almost seventeen, both lovely and vivacious. The charms of the winsome girl captivated the heart of the young widower and he began his courtship in earnest. It is likely that Betty Washington, besides being attracted to her handsome kinsman, was flattered by the attentions of the young man eight years her senior whose fine presence, wealth, and respected position in the community made him in every way a desirable suitor. The fact that he was a widower would not have disturbed her; she would merely be following the example of her mother and her grandmother.

It could not have been long before Fielding Lewis went to Betty's mother to plead his suit, and Mary Washington gave her consent. She was no doubt pleased when he told of his intention of building a handsome home near Fredericksburg. It probably gave her added satisfaction to inform her prospective son-in-law of the dowry of four hundred pounds sterling and two female slaves which Augustine Washington had provided in his will that his daughter was to receive "when she is eighteen."[33]

Betty, for her part, must have cherished the thought of

a gift she had received from her uncle Joseph Ball in London which would most likely prove serviceable for a young housewife. Many times she must have read, until she knew by heart, the letter from her mother's half brother, addressed:

To Miss Elizabeth Washington
nigh the falls of Rappa[hannock]
by favor of
Major Lawrence Wash[ington]

2nd Nov. 1749, Stratford by London

Couz Betty, I have sent you by your brother Major Washington a Tea Chest, and in it Six Silver Spoons, and Strainer and Tongs of the same. And in one canister one half pound Green Tea, and in the other as much Bohea, and the sugar box is full of sugar ready broke; so that, as soon as you get your chest you may sit down and drink a Dish of Tea.

We are all well I thank God, and wish you all so.
My wife and daughter join with me in compliments
I am
Yr loving uncle
Joseph Ball[34]

It would have been difficult for Fielding Lewis to find a more suitable companion than Betty Washington. There was every reason why they should be congenial. Their grandmothers had been sisters; they had many of the same acquaintances and moved in the same social circle.

And so the wedding was planned for, to take place on the seventh day of May 1750. After giving her permission to the betrothal, Mary Washington must have proceeded at once with preparations for the marriage of her only daughter, directing and supervising servants for getting the house and grounds in perfect order and buying wedding garments. A

piece of Betty's "second day" dress has been preserved to this day in the museum at Kenmore. The material is heavy white silk, embroidered with a design of small red flowers in a graceful basket.

No doubt all was in readiness when Maytime arrived, and the time of blossoming. Fine weather may usually be depended upon for the first week of May in Virginia. Then as now, bridal wreath and syringa were probably covered with snowy blossoms at that season. The flags, clove pinks, and late daffodils must have been in full bloom, with Harrison roses, red "dailies," and moss roses flaunting their gay colors in Mary Washington's flower borders. We are told that the nuptials were celebrated at the home of the bride in the hospitable style of Virginia, and that the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Church of England with the Rev. James Marye officiating.

Surely the skies were blue and the sun shining brightly on that first Monday in May of 1750. We may be certain also that there was a joyous gathering of neighbors and kinspeople from Fredericksburg, King George and Stafford counties, with the extensive connections of the Balls, Washingtons, and the Lewises from the Northern Neck and from Gloucester County, who came riding over the rough Virginia roads through woods greening with tender young leaves and decorated with the blooms of dogwood and redbud. We can readily imagine Madam Washington, wearing her best brocaded dress, welcoming her guests with gracious hospitality. It was a brilliant match, and interest in the wedding was doubtless widespread. Tradition has it that word was sent to George Washington, out surveying beyond the mountains, and that he reached home in time to escort the

bride to the altar and to give her away. Lawrence Washington and his wife Ann (Fairfax) may have come from Mount Vernon to the wedding. In all probability the younger brothers, Samuel, John Augustine, and Charles, were in the midst of the festivities, enjoying themselves to the utmost. It is said that the bride wore a white satin gown and high-heeled slippers ornamented with brilliant buckles, and we may be sure she bore herself with queenly distinction. She had the height and dignity of bearing that had come to her in double measure from her parents. Colonel Lewis was no doubt brave in a suit of fine cloth with satin vest, ruffles at wrist and throat, and buckles at knee and shoe top, after the fashion of the day.

It is not certain where the Lewises first made their home. In an old court record dated two months before the wedding took place, we find that a group of men were ordered to meet and "to settle the estate of Mildred Willis, deceased, at the house of Fielding Lewis, Gentleman, near Fredericksburg town."[35] It must have been to this "house" that Fielding Lewis brought his young bride.

It is fortunate that Betty Lewis was a sensible, well-trained young woman, accustomed to the ways of menfolk, and without doubt carefully admonished by her mother. It could not have been long before she realized she had married a very busy man. Exactly eight days after their marriage took place it is recorded that Fielding Lewis, Gentleman, was one of His Majesty's justices present "at a called Court held in Spotsylvania county."[36] His duties demanded his frequent presence at his store and his warehouse, and he was deeply concerned with the coming and going of ships in the Rappahannock River which brought in goods from Eng-

land and other countries and returned filled with sweet-scented tobacco and grain. In a letter to Washington, Lewis wrote: ". . . I intend to be in Frederick [county] the beginning of August on my way to the Springs, but must dispatch my Brigg before I go, she being just come up, and is to load tobacco for Liverpool."[37]

Betty Lewis, also, was busily occupied directing her servants, setting up housekeeping, and superintending the care of her three-year-old stepson, "Johnny Lewis," as she affectionately called him. No doubt the Fredericksburg cousins dropped in often, and in all probability there was constant visiting back and forth between the Lewis home and Ferry Farm.

On February 14, 1751, a son was born to Fielding and Betty Lewis and was christened Fielding, after his father. His uncle, George Washington, and Mr. Robert Jackson were godfathers; Mrs. Mary Washington and Mrs. Francis Thornton, godmothers.[38]

Eleven months later another son was born to the Lewis family and was named Augustine, doubtless for his grandfather, Augustine Washington.[39] His uncles Charles Lewis and Charles Washington, godfathers, his aunt Lucy Lewis and Mrs. Mary Taliaferro, godmothers.

CHAPTER III

Dream of the Builders

With a growing family, besides a large number of servants, the Lewises no doubt felt the need for a larger establishment. From the time of their marriage, Lewis and his wife had probably been watching for an opportunity to secure desirable property, suitable for the fulfillment of their dream of a beautiful home. Early in the year 1752 the opportunity arrived.

On May 2, 1671, Sir William Berkeley granted "unto Mr. John Buckner and Mr. Thomas Royston a tract of land lying in the County of Rappahannock on the south side of the river in the freshes, contayning two thousand acres."[1] This land played an important part in the history of Fredericksburg, for it was upon part of these acres that the town was built. Existing records prove that these two men of Gloucester, John Buckner and Thomas Royston, were well known to Fielding Lewis's grandparents in earlier years. And it was from Richard Wiatt Royston, grandson of Thomas Royston of the lease-land grant, that Fielding Lewis purchased the tract of land on which their home was to be built. The old deed for this property is an interesting document:

Kenmore and the Lewises

This Indenture made the ninth of March in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and fifty two, between Richard Wiatt Royston of the Parish of Petsworth in the County of Gloucester and Ann Royston his wife, of the one Part, and Fielding Lewis of the County of Spotsylvania, Gentleman, of the other Part, witnesseth that the said Richard Wiatt Royston and Ann Royston his wife, for, and in consideration of the sum of eight hundred and sixty one pounds Current Money of Virginia to them, or one of them in hand paid by the said Fielding Lewis, the receipt wherof is hereby acknowledged, have, and each of them hath Granted, Bargained, Sold, Aliend, Released and Confirmed, and by these presents do and each of them doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, Release and Confirm, unto the said Fielding Lewis, his heirs and assigns, all that tract or Parcel of Land scituate, lying and being in the County of Spotsylvania and Parish of St George, joyning to the town of Fredericksburg, Containing by a survey made the 26th day of February 1752, by George Washington, eight hundred and sixty one acres, be the same more or less, Part of a large Grant to John Buckner and Thomas Royston, Grandfather to the said Richard Wiatt Royston, which by the said Patent will more fully appear, and given to the said Richard Wiatt Royston by the Will of his father, John Royston, son to the said Thomas Royston, being bounded as followeth.

Beginning at a marked Gum on the Bank of the river near a house of Charles Dick's, and extended thus South fifty four Degrees, West one hundred and seventy six Poles to a Gum marked, thence South thirty five Degrees West seven hundred and sixteen Poles to a Red Oak Black Oak and a White Oak to the Back Line of the aforesaid tract and Division corner, thence North forty five Degrees, West one hundred and fifty four Poles to a larger marked Red Oak, one knowl by an old field, thence North thirty five Degrees, East seven hundred and twenty five Poles between a Hickory, Red and White Oak, thence North sixty six Degrees, East three hundred and twenty two Poles to a Black Gum on Rappahannock River, thence South twenty six Degrees, East sixty Poles to the Beginning. And all the Plantations, Masuages, Tenements, houses, outhouses, Buildings, Gardens, Orchards, Meadows, Commons, Pastures, Feedings, Trees, Woods, under-

woods, ways, paths, waters, watercourses, Profits, Commodities, Hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever, to the same, belonging, or in any wise appertaining, and also the Reversion and Reversions, Remainder and Remainders, Rents, Issues, and Profits thereof, and also the Estate, Right, Title, the Trust, Possession, Benefit, Property, Claim and Demand whatsoever as will in Equity as in Law, of the said Richard Wiatt Royston and Ann Royston his wife, or either of them open and to all and singular the said moiety or half part of the above mentioned Tract of Land granted to the said John Buckner and Thomas Royston, such part therof as is laid off for the town of Fredericksburg by virtue of the Act of Assembly made for that purpose, which is excluded out of this Sale. To have and to hold the said moiety of Land and all and Singular the Premises with the appurtenances unto the said Fielding Lewis, his heirs and assigns forever, except such part as before is excepted, to the only use and behoof of the said Fielding Lewis, his heirs and assigns forever, and the said Richard Wiatt Royston and Ann Royston his wife, for themselves, their heirs, Executors and Administrators, do covenant, Promise and Agree to and with the said Fielding Lewis, his heirs and Assigns, that they, the said Richard Wiatt Royston and Ann Royston his wife and their heirs the void land Hereditaments and Appurtenances of every part therof hereby bargained and sold or intended to be hereby bargained and sold to the said Fielding Lewis, his heirs and assigns against them, the said Richard Wiatt Royston and Ann Royston, his wife and their heirs, and against the claim and demand, lawfully, of any Person or Persons whatsoever, shall and will warrant, and forever Defend by these Presents.

Signed and Delivered in Presence of

Samuel Buckner
James Baytop
Daniel Fitzhugh
Alexr Cruikshank
James Allan
Charles Lewis

Richard Wiatt Royston
Ann Royston

1752 March 9
Received of Fielding Lewis Eight hundred and sixty one Pounds, being the Consideration Money within mentioned.

Pr me
Richard Wiatt Royston[2]

WITNESS
Samuel Buckner
James Baytop

It is possible that Betty Lewis accompanied her brother when the surveying took place, although her mother would not have approved of her going, with the newest little Lewis still a small infant. Such an adventure would have been a strong temptation to the young woman of nineteen. Betty was impetuous and strong, and the thought of encountering briars and thick undergrowth would have presented no obstacle to the country-bred girl. It was an important occasion, for her new home was to be built upon these acres, and we may readily imagine she wanted to watch the surveying of them. Moreover, she was seeing very little of her brother these days.

She was to see less of him soon. Their half brother Lawrence Washington died the following July, and young George Washington was busily engaged in settling his estate. In his will Lawrence Washington left ". . . to . . . my . . . Sister Betty Lewis the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds . . ."[3]

It was a pleasant village near which Fielding Lewis and his wife had chosen to build their new home. The adventurous explorer Captain John Smith, sailing up the Rappahannock River in 1608, had landed at the falls just above the location where the town of Fredericksburg was subsequently laid out, and there set up a cross. Writing of the

place, he declared: "Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation." A fort was built near the falls at a very early date, with two hundred soldiers to guard it.[4] Tradition has it that there have been continuous white settlements in the locality of Fredericksburg since 1622.

When Governor Alexander Spotswood and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe started from Williamsburg on August 20, 1716, they stopped near the site where Fredericksburg was established some years later, with Austin Smith, one of their party. They dined there on the twenty-fourth before they set out for Germanna, eighteen miles above the town, on their famous expedition "to search for a passage or gap through the great mountains."[5]

When a new county was set off from Essex in 1720, it was called Spotsylvania after Governor Spotswood.[6] Settlers were coming in rapidly. In the year 1727, fifty-six years after the grant, and at a time when the young Fielding Lewis had reached the tender age of two in his Warner Hall home, the town of Fredericksburg was established by act of General Assembly. It was named for Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II, and its streets were named for the royal family: George for the King; Caroline for the Queen; Frederick, William, Amelia, Princess Anne, and Princess Elizabeth for their children; and Sophia for the sister of the King.[7] The act of the House of Burgesses in incorporating the town states: "Whereas, great numbers of people have of late seated themselves and their families upon and near the Falls, and great quantities of tobacco and other commodities are every year brought down to the upper landings to be transported to other parts of the country . . . , so we, the inhabitants of

the county of Spotsylvania have made humble application to the General Assembley that a town may be laid out in some convenient place near the falls of said river."[8]

The village of Falmouth, founded by prosperous merchants from Glasgow, lay just across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg, and was an important trading center with thriving mills. Grain and tobacco were sent to this point and to Fredericksburg from the neighboring counties to be loaded on sailing vessels from Europe and the West Indies which came in bearing foreign goods for exchange. Merchants accumulated wealth and both towns grew steadily. A ferry was established which plied across the river to the opposite shore and back. In time the House of Burgesses passed a law that "fairs should be held in Fredericksburg twice a year for the sale of cattle, provisions, goods, wares, and all kinds of merchandise whatever."[9]

Writing of his travels in Virginia, the Rev. Andrew Burnaby stated: "The Rappahannock River is navigable to the falls which are a mile above Fredericksburg and about one hundred and ten from the bay. Vessels of large burden may come up to this place, and small craft and canoes may be carried up much higher." In describing the town Burnaby continues: "It is regularly laid out, as most of the towns in Virginia are, in parallel streets. Part of it is built upon an eminence and commands a delightful prospect, the rest upon the edge of the water for the convenience of warehouses. The town was begun about thirty two years ago for the sake of carrying on a trade with the back settlers, and at present is for the most part flourishing."[10]

Five years after the town was established by law, Colonel William Byrd, then living on the James River, visited

Fredericksburg, and while there wrote: "Colonel Willis walk't me about his new Town of Fredericksburg. It is pleasantly situated on the South Shore of the Rappahannock River, about a Mile below the Falls. Sloops may come and lie close to the Wharf, within 30 Yards of the Public Warehouses which are built in the figure of a Cross. Just by the Wharf is a Quarry of White Stone . . . appearing to be as fair and fine grained as that of Portland. Besides that, there are several other Quarrys in the River Bank within the Limits of the Town sufficient to build a great City. The only Edifice of Stone yet built is the Prison. . . . Though this be a commodious and beautiful Situation for a Town, with the Advantages of a Navigable River, and wholesome Air, yet the Inhabitants are very few. . . . Tis said the Courthouse and the Church are going to be built here, and then both Religion and Justice will help to enlarge the Place."[11]

In the middle years of the prosperous eighteenth century a number of imposing homes were rising on plantations along rivers of Tidewater Virginia. It was about this time that John Carlyle was building the Carlyle house in Alexandria, William Randolph II was building Wilton, and Carter Burwell building Carter's Grove. In King George County Charles Carter had built Cleve; and Gawin Corbin, Peckatone in Westmoreland. George Mason was to construct Gunston Hall in 1755–58 with the assistance of William Buckland.

We do not know by what means Fielding Lewis may have heard of the architect John Ariss. Possibly it was through some friend, or he may have seen Ariss's advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* of May 22, 1751. This reads:

John Oriss, [Ariss] "By the Subscriber (lately from Great Britain), Buildings of all Sorts and Dimensions are undertaken and performed in the neatest manner, (and at cheaper rates), either of the Ancient or Modern Order of Gibbs' Architect, and if any Gentleman should want plans, Bills of Scantling, or bill of charges for any Fabric, or Public Edifice, may have them by applying to the Subscriber at Major John Bushrod's at Westmoreland County, Va. where may be seen a great variety and sundry Draughts of Buildings in Miniature, and some buildings near finished after the modern taste." *John Oriss.*[12]

It is likely that Lewis had studied books on architecture available at the time and had determined upon the type of house he contemplated building, in all probability a style which was a variant of the prevalent type of manor house already established in Virginia. Its particular characteristics may be attributable to an architect, possibly in addition to Lewis's personal study of English houses. According to Fiske Kimball, "There was little in the later buildings of the colonies which did not find its origin or its counterpart in provincial England, or other parts of Europe of the same day."[13]

Through the research of Thomas Waterman, architect and author, the evidence appears convincing, although we do not have absolute proof, that John Ariss may have been the architect of Kenmore, and that his plans emanated largely from the rare Georgian architectural design book, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, "mainly the work of William Adam (father of the more famous Robert), who practiced in Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century."[14] Since the origin of Mount Vernon, the Carlyle house in Alexandria, Harewood, the home of Samuel Washington in West Virginia, Mount Airy in Richmond County, Kenmore and Mannsfield in Spotsylvania County, and eight other important buildings

can be found in *Vitruvius Scoticus*, "the fact . . . makes it seem reasonable that they were the work of one man."[15]

Naturally the Lewises turned to George Washington for advice in selecting a favorable site for their new home, on the land which he had surveyed. The location chosen was upon a green slope that fell away to the east toward the waters of the Rappahannock River, taking care that almost a mile separated the homesite from danger of floods, and from the mosquitoes that infested the river flats. Toward the south, buildings in the village of Fredericksburg could be partially discerned through the trees. In all directions were the "orchards, woods and trees" mentioned in the deed, the "gums and hickories, the red, white, and the black oaks" along the boundaries. It is very probable that when the clearing was made certain fine specimen trees were retained to ornament and shade the grounds near the proposed dwelling.

While there are no existing records to show the exact year when the house was constructed, all evidence points to its having been built shortly after the land was purchased in 1752. Since Ariss, in his advertisement, referred to his residence at Major Bushrod's, Bushfield in Westmoreland County, it seems likely he may have journeyed back and forth to Fredericksburg from time to time in order to supervise the building of the Lewis home. We may be sure that Colonel Lewis also gave minute attention to every detail as they consulted together. In all likelihood the woods on the plantation furnished much of the material for the house. Many of the heavy timbers of seasoned wood are strong today, after the passing of almost two hundred years. Foundations were laid firmly and securely, for things were not done in a hurry in those leisurely days. Homemakers built

with a permanent purpose, to endure. There is little doubt that the bricks used for building the massive walls, two feet in thickness, were made on the plantation, according to custom. Fiske Kimball has said that if a search had been made over the Lewis property years ago, the brick kiln might have been found almost anywhere upon those 861 acres. It is likely that stone used for the steps at the entrances came from a nearby quarry. As was customary, the woodwork and paneling used in the halls and different rooms was undoubtedly the work of a master craftsman. The glass for the windows, brasses for doorknobs and knocker, as well as other materials not available in America, must have been ordered by Colonel Lewis to be brought over from England. The graceful stairway, the finely carved mantels, the arched doorway between the entrance hall and the drawing room, all show the infinite care with which details were planned by the architect and the owners. The elaborate plaster decorations of the ceilings and overmantels were not executed until a number of years after the building of the mansion.

CHAPTER IV

Man of Affairs

DURING the years while their new home was being constructed, life was broadening for the owners. Fielding Lewis duly recorded in his Bible the birth of his sons and daughters as they made their entry into the world. The era of child specialists had not arrived, and the toll of children's lives was appalling, even in homes like Kenmore where they were tenderly nurtured. Betty Lewis was destined to have eleven, all told, with six living to maturity. Augustine, the second son, slipped away at the early age of four years. "Our third, a son Warner, born 24th June, 1755," lived only eighteen months. "Our fourth, a son George, born 14th of March, 1757," lived to mature age. He was named for his uncle George Washington; "Mr. Charles Yates and Lewis Willis, godfathers, Mrs. Mary Dick [wife of Charles Dick] and his mother Betty Lewis, godmothers."[1] Young George must have brought great solace to his parents, bereft of two children the year before his coming.

Having been brought up from childhood in the Es-

tablished Church, both Fielding and Betty Lewis were faithful attendants at services held in the churches of St. George's Parish. There is a record in the old vestry book of St. George's Parish in the year 1753, "that Fielding Lewis, Gentleman, be appointed to serve as vestryman in this parish, and that he have notice thereof." At the meeting of the April court of Spotsylvania County in 1754, "Fielding Lewis, Gentleman . . . appointed Vestryman in the parish of St. George's in this county, came into Court and took the usual oaths to His Majesty's person and government, and subscribed the abjuration oath and repeated and signed the Test."[2]

The parishes in Virginia were under the control of vestries composed of men who from both a social and a political point of view were foremost citizens in the community. The vestry was an exceedingly important body. Vestrymen took the oath of office at court because their duties included civic as well as church obligations. Among other duties, the vestry were entrusted with the care of the poor of the parish, and it was their responsibility to investigate cases of suspected moral delinquency—and to present them, if the suspicion proved well founded, to the county court. Not only did the vestry select the clergymen of the parish,[3] it was also their duty to "lay and collect the parish levy,"[4] wherewith to cover current parochial expenses. Lewis's name first appears in the vestry records at a meeting held in November 1754. From that time it is apparent from the records that he took an active part in parish affairs as long as he lived. He served as churchwarden for many successive years, thus becoming one of the executive officers of the vestry, for the churchwardens were the men who did the

actual work. It was their duty, apart from seeing that the church was retained in proper repair and equipment, and keeping all church accounts, personally to collect and pay the minister's dues. Many times Lewis, with others, was appointed to look after necessary repairs and painting for the four churches then in the parish: Rappahannock, Mattapony, Pamunkey, and Fredericksburg; the church called Mattapony Church on the south side of the river Po being the oldest or Mother Church. There was "Divine Service in Fredericksburg every third Sunday if the weather permits." At one time it was ordered that Robert Jackson and Fielding Lewis "do agree with some person to paint and do other necessaries as they think proper on Rappahannock church and to number the pews of said church." And again, Lewis was one of the vestrymen chosen "to purchase one hundred acres of land convenient to the new church for use of the poor, and that they erect necessary buildings theron." In 1770 Fielding Lewis and Charles Washington were appointed to "agree with some person to do necessary repairs to the Fredericksburg church." According to law, the Rev. Mr. James Marye, minister, was paid a salary of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco each year for his services.[5]

When we bear in mind the important work done by Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick during the Revolutionary period, it is interesting to note the intimate friendship between these men through the years. The friendship must have begun soon after Lewis and his first wife came to Fredericksburg when, in 1747, "Mr. Charles Dick" was godfather for their first son, John Lewis. We find Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick buying nearly a thousand acres of land jointly in Augusta County in the year 1755,[6] and five lots in the town

of Winchester in 1757.[7] Both men were closely associated in their business interests as merchants, and they served together as justices of the court. From the vestry book of St. George's Parish we learn that in 1760 it was "Agreed that Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick, Gentlemen, have leave to erect a Gallery in Rappahannock Church in the west end at their own expense." It often happened in colonial Virginia that leading families occupied a gallery above the seats of the other worshipers. Betty Lewis's grandfather, Colonel Joseph Ball, and Major James Ball had been allowed to finish a private gallery for the use of their families in White Chapel Church in Lancaster County, "themselves meeting the expense."[8] It was not until after the Revolution that galleries were used in Virginia for the seating of slaves.

In the year 1753, Fielding Lewis was made a member of Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4 of the Masonic Order, the same lodge into which George Washington had been initiated one year earlier.[9]

Fielding Lewis's father, Colonel John Lewis, died on January 17, 1754.[10] Unfortunately his will was among the early records of Gloucester County destroyed by fire years ago. A deed recorded in Spotsylvania County in 1773[11] shows that "Fielding Lewis of Spotsylvania county and Betty, his wife, and John Lewis of same county, to John Thornton, Charles Dick, Charles Washington, etc., Trustees of Fredericksburg, pay eight hundred and thirty pounds current money mortgage for several tracts of land in St George's parish, Spotsylvania county, purchased by John Lewis Esq., (father of said Fielding Lewis) of Francis Thornton, Gent. and devised to the said Fielding by his said father, containing 409 acres, etc." It is likely that other property may have

been left to Fielding Lewis by his wealthy father. Eighteen hundred acres of land upon the Mattaponi River in Spotsylvania County were purchased by Fielding Lewis from his brother Charles Lewis on October 9, 1755. Land that was "devised to the said Charles by the Will of his father, Hon. John Lewis, Esq., deceased, a part of a tract called Warner's."[12]

Fielding Lewis early became identified with the interests of Fredericksburg and was one of the leaders in the industrial development of the town and its surrounding territory. After the governor gave his assent twice in a decade to bills "for enlarging the town of Fredericksburg because the town is daily increasing in inhabitants,"[13] one part of the town is referred to in the county records as "Lewis's Addition." It is an established fact that the upper end of the town toward the falls was owned and developed by Fielding Lewis, and the lower end by Roger Dixon, prominent resident of the town. Thus it appears that Lewis was not only occupied with his mercantile business, the supervision of his warehouses and stores, with duties as vestryman, and attendance at court: he was actively engaged in adding to and disposing of his property. The deed books of Spotsylvania County are full of the transfers of lots in the town, and of property environing it, by Fielding Lewis, Gentleman, and Betty, his wife, to all manner of persons from a mariner late of Pennsylvania, to a silversmith, a carpenter, a joiner, and to merchants and gentlemen of the neighborhood. So many were the lots owned by Lewis and his wife that it would seem they owned half the town, as indeed they did, with the result that a large part of the original town of Fredericksburg is built on Lewis land. There was

lot 76 "in the plan of the extension of the town of Fredericksburg." There were eight lots sold at one time by Fielding Lewis, Esquire; and Betty, his wife, with John Lewis (eldest son of Fielding Lewis), to Edward Carter of Fredericksburg.[14] There is a record in 1794: "Wheras . . . Fielding Lewis, deceased, during his lifetime, did sell lots 107 and 108 to George Washington, Esq., now President of the United States . . ."[15] It is clear that Lewis was fully aware of the importance of acquiring property, since land was the wealth of the colonies, and availed himself of every opportunity for adding to his holdings.

On November 7, 1755, the following advertisement appeared in the *Virginia Gazette:*

> A man well recommended who can teach Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, will meet good encouragement by applying to the Subscribers.
>
> *Robert Jackson*
> *Fielding Lewis*

Apparently young Johnny Lewis had arrived at the age when a tutor was needed; little Fielding was still only four years old.

Stories of Indian attacks on the frontier doubtless reached Fredericksburg in those days. In a letter to Washington from Williamsburg in the year 1756, William Fairfax wrote on the fourteenth of April, "Mr. Fielding Lewis now here, tells us the Indians, since scalping of the Sieur Domville, have made another attack, cut off a family, burnt the house, and, which has added to the former panic, prevailed to make Colonel Wood and family desert his fortifications and plantation, to the great discouragement of others."[16]

And in another letter on the ninth of May to Washington, Fairfax wrote from Alexandria: "The spirit of just resentment on the repeated insults and attacks has so far prevailed as to animate Mr. Attorney [Hon. Peyton Randolph], and many Gentlemen to enter into an Association for a vigorous Defence and Repulse of our common Enemy, and propose being in Fredericksburg soon. Mr. Fielding Lewis is their Commissary to provide provisions."[17] This statement makes it evident that Fielding Lewis was acting as commissary under Governor Dinwiddie.

The responsibility of supplying food and provisions for expeditions setting forth to fight in the French and Indian Wars was of great importance. Records show that Lewis gave still further aid, in serving as quartermaster. On June 10, 1758, Lewis wrote from Fredericksburg to Colonel Washington when he was commanding troops of the colony of Virginia at Fort Loudon:

> I have sent you 4 Pk blankets which contain Sixty blankets.
>
> Col. Washington for the Country, Dr.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | To 60 Blankets | £ 34.10.0 |
> | Package and cord | 2.6 |
> | | £ 34.12.6.[18] |

It is apparent that Lewis had charge of certain military goods and military accounts, and also that he had difficulties in sending the blankets. Washington in a letter to Sir John St. Clair wrote from Fort Loudon, June 14, 1758: "Mr. Cunningham in a post script to me adds 'McSwaine this moment tells me the two Waggoners have escaped from Colo Lewis; so that the blankets will not be up so soon as I wrote Sir John.' "

Kenmore and the Lewises

On October 13, 1757, Fielding Lewis received a commission from Governor Dinwiddie, appointing him county lieutenant with rank of colonel. His oaths for this office, taken at a court held on February 7, 1758, when he signed the test, commission dated December 15, 1757,[19] made him commander of all the county militia and the most important officer in the county. The position carried with it a certain amount of prestige and social prominence. In a letter to Governor Dinwiddie dated October 29, 1757, Colonel John Thornton wrote: ". . . before I conclude I must desire your Honor will not take it amiss when I inform you that Mr. Fielding Lewis, a gentleman of fortune and character in that county [Spotsylvania] and much esteemed by the people, who, I make no doubt, would readily exert themselves, under such a gentleman, in case of a sudden call in the defense of our Frontier."[20]

When George Washington was elected burgess from Frederick County on July 24, 1758, Fielding Lewis's name appears upon the list of persons who voted for him in that county. The qualification for voters at that time was such that a person having estate in two or more counties had the right to vote in that county wherein the greatest quantity of his land lay.[21] We may therefore assume that Lewis had increased his holdings in Frederick County.

On October 4, 1757, Fielding Lewis was appointed guardian to his young brother-in-law Charles Washington, "orphan of Augustine Washington, with John Thornton, Security."[22]

CHAPTER V

A Dream Fulfilled

ALTHOUGH there are no records to show the length of time required to construct the Lewises' home, there is little doubt that the period of building must have extended over a period of several years. Besides the mansion itself and the dependencies, the building of servant quarters, barns, smokehouse, and other outbuildings was necessary. At the same time Kenmore was in the process of being built, Mount Vernon was being enlarged. On February 7, 1757, Colonel Lewis wrote to Washington as follows: "Sir, I received yours by Mr. Buchanan, with the cash to purchase Mrs. Buckner's carpenter. . . .[1] If I fail in the purchase . . . I will immediately send mine to your home to carry on your building, until another can be got."[2] It seems safe to surmise that Lewis would not have suggested sending his carpenter to Mount Vernon unless his own buildings had been finished.

When at last the mansion house was ready for occupancy and the Lewis family had moved into it, they must have found their new abode comfortable as well as beauti-

ful. The spacious rooms were high-ceilinged and well lighted, the thick walls gave protection from wintry blasts and provided coolness from summer heat. The interior arrangement was the popular one of four rooms and a wide hall on each floor, each room containing a fireplace.

Life flowed along in peaceful channels after Colonel Lewis and his wife were established in the home where they were to experience so much happiness and to pass through such difficult times. From family letters and traditions it is apparent theirs was a happy marriage cemented with mutual confidence and affection. The coming of their first daughter must have brought them much joy. She was christened Mary, in all probability for her grandmother Mary Washington. The joy was not for long, for the little girl lived only eight months. The two boys, Charles and Samuel, who came next were born within two years of one another.[3]

Colonel and Mrs. Lewis had every reason to be proud of their new home with its dignity, serenity, and stately proportions. How beautiful it must have been with the many acres of lawn, the gardens, and the fine old trees surrounding it! It is pleasant to think of Colonel Lewis and his wife with their friends, strolling under the embowering trees. It was probably difficult for them to decide which was more to be admired: the entrance front where stone steps led up to a small uncovered porch with a massive door opening into the hall, or the garden front—sometimes called river front—which was approached by a flight of steps leading up, first to a terrace, then to a graceful portico supported by columns with a door giving entrance to the drawing room. It is not easy for persons who visit Kenmore today, where the grounds occupy the space of a city block and are



The Great Room with windows toward the east, showing portion of the elaborately designed ceiling



Another view of the Great Room
displaying the famous overmantel designed by George Washington

enclosed by a wall, to visualize the seat of Colonel Lewis, together with numerous outbuildings, set in the midst of the large acreage which originally surrounded it. The plantation extended in all directions with open fields planted in tobacco, corn, and waving grain, falling away to wooded slopes, and with far-reaching views of the rolling hills of Spotsylvania County. The prospect must have been a peaceful one, with cattle grazing in the green fields, flocks of sheep with their young lambs, and near by the smoke from the chimneys of the servants' quarters. The kitchen to the north of the house in close proximity to the dining room no doubt proved convenient, as did also the office building on the south where Lewis administered the business of his estate, as well as his other interests.

The inventory of the household goods of Colonel Lewis, made in 1782,[4] gives some idea of the furnishings of the mansion. Although it is not possible to know which of the articles belonged in each separate room, we may conjecture where they were placed. Since the great looking glass was a favorite ornament for the parlor of the well-to-do Virginian, "the long looking glass" may have hung in the great room of the mansion. Ten tables were listed: two "oval," and two "square" tables, the mahogany "corner" tables, "tea tables," and others. We may assume that the "large mahogany table" and "ten mahogany chairs" were used in the dining room. Of the fifty-nine chairs listed in the inventory, some were Windsor, some made of walnut, others of mahogany. There was an "easy chair" and fourteen flag-bottomed chairs. "The mahogany bedstead and curtains" was in all probability the same stately canopied four-poster bed which stands today in the master bedroom at Kenmore, and which is known to have

been there originally. But it is not possible to know where each of the fifteen bedsteads mentioned in the list were placed —the "field bed with suit of curtains," or "the poplar bedstead." It is probable that some of these beds were used for the servants' quarters or in other outbuildings. Tradition states that when the Lewis boys grew older they occupied rooms over the combined schoolroom and office building. Judging from the number of andirons, tongs, shovels, and even bellows, listed in the inventory, all of the fireplaces in the establishment were adequately provided for.

Dear to Betty Lewis's heart must have been "sundry china, glassware and salvers, salts, knives and forks, chafing dishes, plate about eighty two dozen, one dozen teacups and saucers, sundry china, glassware in a closet." Also, "nine table cloaths, twenty pairs of sheets, twenty one pillow cases, five counterpanes, two suits of curtains, fourteen damask, and thirteen other napkins, fourteen blankets, carpet, suits of curtains."

The list is too long to name all of the items, but from the articles mentioned it is quite evident that the Lewises' home was furnished in the best manner of the day, as befitted the dwelling of a gentleman of Colonel Lewis's wealth and position. His early years at Warner Hall had given him a taste for elegant surroundings. It is well to remember that at the time the inventory of Colonel Lewis's belongings was made, two sons and a daughter had married and left the home and each had naturally received a share of the family heirlooms, so we may be sure the list by no means included all the furnishings which originally belonged in Kenmore.

The same may be inferred regarding the books contained in Lewis's library, and listed in the inventory of his be-

longings.[5] The three married children, Fielding and George Lewis and Betty Lewis Carter, had in all probability taken a number of books to their own homes. Some of the books in Fielding Lewis's library included Pope's *Homer*, *Religion of Nature*, *Knowledge and Practice of Christianity*, Stackhouse on the Bible, Young's Works, *Philosophical Inquiries*, Gay's *Poems*, *The Ancient and Present State of England*, *The Athenian Oracle*, *The Decameron*, *Modern Adventures*, *The History of the Brothers*, *Yorick Sermons*, Faulioner's *Voyages*, *The Cry*, *The Compleat Housewife*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, Holy Bible, *Freeholder*, four volumes of Atterbury's *Sermons*, *Letters from Epergion*, *The Husband*, to name only a few of the many volumes. When noticing the variety of subjects included among the titles we are enabled to gain insight into the personality of Colonel Fielding Lewis. It will be noted that a number of the books deal with theology. We are told that "it was in the seclusion of their private libraries that the Virginians, turning to the standard works on religion, read and meditated on religious problems and prayed for enlightenment and guidance."[6]

CHAPTER VI

Compleat Housewife

BETTY LEWIS was probably around twenty-four or twenty-five years of age when she assumed her responsibilities as mistress of a large Virginia plantation. Well trained by her mother in housewifely tasks, we may be certain that she took her position easily and naturally, and showed herself capable and resourceful. Even though there were a large number of servants to relieve her of manual tasks, the training and direction of these domestics must have engaged much of their mistress' time and thought, and left her few idle hours. All good housekeepers of the day gave personal supervision to their affairs, and gave to each servant duties they were required strictly to perform. The more capable and intelligent servants no doubt relieved her in duties of training the younger ones.

In the list of Negroes belonging to the estate of Fielding Lewis,[1] made in later years, we find the name of "Charlotte, seamstress." Since all the wearing apparel of the servants was made on the place by hand, it was necessary that spinning,

weaving, and sewing be done, and a plentiful supply of socks, stockings, mufflers, and gloves knitted, so we may suppose Charlotte helped supervise the workers who made these articles.

Besides the care of the poultry, there was milk to be looked after, and butter churned in the dairy, and a quantity of pickles, jellies, and preserves put up. It is likely that "Rachel, brought up for a cook," was helpful in these tasks, and also "Billy, houseservant." Besides a large number of "field negroes," and a "waggoner," there were the "washerwoman Hetty"; Bob, George, and Randolph, "ropemakers"; Jack, "shoemaker"; Pompey, "blacksmith"; Scipio, "cooper"; and "a plow boy." There were probably many others, for at the time of Lewis's death, the Spotsylvania County tax list shows he was paying taxes on forty-two slaves.

The young mistress of the mansion must have made a charming picture when, with a key basket hanging from her wrist, she made her daily rounds to the linen closet, the basement storerooms, where provisions were kept cool and sweet, and to the smokehouse where rows of ham, jowls, and sides of bacon hung suspended from the beams.

One of the books shown in the inventory of Colonel Lewis's library is *The Compleat Housewife*. The *Virginia Gazette* of March 1, 1752, advertised "The Compleat Housewife, or Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion, a Collection of several hundred most approved Receipts in Pastry, Pickles, and Preserves, by E. Smith, to which is added, Every Man His Own Doctor, prescribing easy means for Persons to cure themselves of all, or most Distempers incident to this climate, the medicines being chiefly of the Growth and Production of this Country. Pub. March 1, 1751."[2] Doubtless

this volume proved useful to Betty Lewis, for in addition to other domestic duties, it was necessary to try to administer relief to both the white and the colored members of her household when they were sick or injured. It could not always have been easy to procure the services of good Dr. Mortimer in Fredericksburg upon short notice. Mary Washington, within easy reach at Ferry Farm, and later in the cottage near by, was a tower of strength in every emergency.

Above all Mrs. Lewis was chiefly absorbed in the upbringing of her children, and it was to them her main attention was given. We are told that she possessed a sense of drollery and humor, which, together with her tender, warm-hearted nature, won for her the devotion of her family and her friends. It is small wonder that in later years one of her sons, referring to his mother in a letter, described her as "the dearest and best of women." We are fortunate in having a striking pen picture, drawn by George Washington Parke Custis, of Betty Lewis whom, he claimed at the time it was written, he "perfectly well remembers. She was a most majestic looking woman, and so strikingly like the brother, that it was a matter of frolic to throw a cloak around her, and placing a military hat on her head, such was her amazing resemblance that on her appearance battalions would have presented arms and senates risen to do honor to the chief."[3]

So the days passed, the serious duties interspersed with many pleasures. We may be certain that the management of her garden gave especial pleasure to Betty Lewis. According to tradition, Washington helped to plan both his sister's garden and the grounds of the Lewis home, and also the planting of thirteen horse-chestnut trees—one for each of the original colonies. His enthusiasm for trees, shrubs, fruits, in fact all

growing things, is so well known that it is easy to believe the story. There must have been frequent exchange of plants and seeds between Kenmore and Mount Vernon. Washington writes in his diary, September 1765: "Sowed three pecks of wheat (had from Colo Lewis) of a sort which he says is early and of an extraordinary increase. . . ."[4] And again: "Planted some Filberts given me by my Sister [Betty] Lewis in the row in which the Everlasting Pea was planted."[5] Still later he mentions having learned from his mother and sister an interesting method of raising potatoes under straw. Mrs. Lewis must have welcomed the news that the Fredericksburg merchant, James Hunter, Jr., in 1774 had received a consignment of plants from Gordon and Dermer, Seedsmen. She no doubt availed herself of the opportunity for procuring some of the "moss roses, artichoke, thyme, marygold, marjoram and lavendar"[6] for her own garden. Besides the bulbs and plants brought from Ferry Farm or given her by friends, it is likely the herb garden near the kitchen received much of her attention. In it, we may believe, were the homely simples used for pot, physic, and distillery. Like many a housewife of the day, she must have gathered leaves and roots of herbs for drying, and later stored them for teas and ointments in her medicine chest, with others tied in bunches to hang in the kitchen for seasoning.

Both Colonel and Mrs. Lewis enjoyed the society of their friends and it is evident their home was built for purposes of hospitality. The spacious rooms gave them ample opportunity for entertaining company with the ease and comfort characteristic among prosperous planters and merchants of the day. Many were the carriages that must have rolled up to the hospitable doors of the Lewis mansion, bring-

ing Augustine Washington and his family from Westmoreland County, John Augustine Washington and his family from Bushfield, the Samuel Washingtons from Stafford and later from Harefield in Frederick County, the Carters from Nomini Hall, the Mann Pages from Mannsfield, the Tayloes from Mount Airy, the Fitzhughs from Chatham and from Marmion, and, from the Fredericksburg neighborhood, the Thorntons of Fall Hill, the Willises, the Mercers, the Dicks, the Wallaces, the Dixons, the Woodfords, the Weedons, the Traverses, the Poseys, the family of Charles Washington, and scores of others who were welcomed by Colonel Fielding Lewis and his wife. According to the custom of the day, persons who had traveled for long distances were not only invited to stay overnight but were urged to spend several days or weeks. Accommodations in the few inns or ordinaries existing at that time were limited. It was well that the smokehouse and storerooms in the basement at Kenmore were abundantly stocked with provisions, and that the gardens and orchards furnished vegetables and fruits in season. It is likely there was always a plentiful supply of corn meal from the mill, which Lewis had been granted permission by the court "to erect on the Hazel Run in this county."[7] No doubt many a bushel of corn ground at this mill was baked into fragrant pones for the Lewis establishment. We may readily believe also that wagons of produce were often brought down from Lewis's plantations in Frederick County.

We are fortunate to know the manner in which Colonel Lewis and his family traveled in colonial days, when they set forth on a typical round of visits to their kinsfolk and friends on other plantations. Washington wrote from Mount Vernon to Robert Cary and Company, merchants in London,

March 16, 1762:[8] "A Relation and Friend of mine having desired me to send for a Post Chariot for him, I now do so in the words of his own. 'Colo Washington to send for a neat, light Post Chariot for Fielding Lewis, of a price not exceeding one hundred pounds sterling, and to have light harness for six horses. To desire the favor not to let the tradesmen know it is to be sent abroad. To have it made of well seasoned wood and painted a genteel and fashionable color, without any Arms, and to be insured.' The gentleman at the time of giving me this Mem'm was not provided with an impression of his Arms about him,[9] but if I should receive it timously, I will enclose by the next opportunity.[10] You will please to order the Chariot, so soon as finished by the first ship bound to Rappahannock river, and direct it to be sent to Colo Fielding Lewis at Fredericksburg, who has promised to lodge a Bill of Exchange with me for the cost and charges as soon as he is informed therof,[11] which Bill I shall immediately return to you."[12] In his ledger accounts Washington records:

To a Post Chariot and Harness from Robert Cary & Co, at our desire,

Cost Sterling	£	98.14.8
65% Exchange on Do		64. 3.6
Total	£	162.18.2

No visitor was more warmly welcomed in the Lewis home than was George Washington. One has but to read Washington's diaries to understand how often and how intimately he was at Kenmore. On January 16, 1760, he records: "About 10 reached my mother's where I breakfasted, and then went to Fredericksburg with my brother Sam, who I found there, . . . was disappointed of seeing my sister

[Betty] Lewis, and getting a few goods which I wanted out of the Fielding Lewis stores."[13]

A letter from Washington written from Mount Vernon to his mother Mary Washington, September 3, 1757, shows the use he made of Lewis's store: "I have waited until now, expecting the arrival of my negroes clothes from Great Britain, but as the season is advancing, and risks attending them, I can no longer depend, and therefore beg of you to choose me about three hundred and fifty yards of oznbergs,[14] two hundred yards cotton, thirty five pairs plaid hose, and as much thread as is necessary, in Mr. Lewis' store if he has them . . . , and send by John Alton who comes down with a tumbler for that purpose."[15]

Although we have no records as proof, it is possible that Colonel Lewis and his wife may have been among the guests who were present at the marriage of George Washington and Martha Dandridge Custis on January 6, 1759. Betty Lewis would certainly have longed to be there. "The journey was a long one in those days, and the time of the year a difficult season for travel over the muddy roads. The route ran south of the Rappahannock across the northeast corner of Spotsylvania county, along the Mattaponi river through Caroline, shortcutting through King William and Hanover counties, then over the Pamunkey river to White House, the bride's home on the York river in New Kent county."[16]

Family annals show the warm attachment which existed throughout the years between "Sister Washington" and "Sister Lewis," and visits were often exchanged between Mount Vernon and Kenmore. Martha Washington and Betty Lewis shared many interests, the closest bond being their mutual devotion to George Washington.

CHAPTER VII

Of Journeyings and Negotiations

In February 1769, Colonel Lewis and his eighteen-year-old son Fielding journeyed to Mount Vernon for a visit. According to Washington's diary at that period, he was for four successive days "home all day with Colo Lewis etca." Then Colonel Lewis and his son "set off to go home, but were stopped at Colchester by ice, and returned in the afternoon." The next day Washington makes note of going duck shooting with Colonel Lewis, while young Fielding and Betsy Dandridge went to a monthly ball in Alexandria. The duck-shooting expeditions continued for the two following days, then Washington writes of being "at home all day with Colo Lewis and Son." After a stay of ten days Colonel Lewis and Fielding again "set off for home."[1]

Three weeks later Washington came to Fredericksburg, dining as was his custom with the Lewis family. After staying two days, "dining as usual" at Colonel Lewis's,[2] he set forth, stopping first in Fauquier County where he spent almost a week surveying lands. It is likely that Lewis was among the

"many people attending" the surveying, for a few days later Washington makes note in his diary of going up to Greenway Court, the residence of Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, in Frederick County about twelve miles from Winchester. He writes: "I dined and stayed all night. Met Colo Lewis there." And the following day: "Went with Colo Lewis to his Plantations where I stayed all night."[3] Perhaps the plantations of Lewis referred to were included in the tract of three hundred acres "above His Lordship's Manor," on Paterson's Creek, which Colonel Lewis had purchased on November 9, 1754. Like many of his contemporaries, Lewis was actively engaged in extending his holdings in the section of Virginia lying toward the Blue Ridge Mountains. From time to time he added to his estate by acquiring large tracts in the fertile valley of the Shenandoah River in Frederick County. From surviving records we learn that Colonel Lewis's overseer "Butler" lived upon one of the tracts.[4]

Fielding Lewis's association with Washington was long and intimate. He was seven years Washington's senior. The two were cousins as well as brothers-in-law, and had probably known each other the greater part of their lives. They held many interests commonly known to the owners of Virginia plantations, and were continually together in private life. They were both interested in cultivating lands in the Shenandoah Valley. They served together in the House of Burgesses. Both were promoters of a scheme for developing the Dismal Swamp. The preservation of Washington's diaries and correspondence makes it possible to observe the confidence displayed by Washington in his brother-in-law's judgment in business affairs.

In a letter to Richard Washington from Fort Loudon

April 15, 1757, Washington writes: "I have been posted for twenty months past upon our cold and barren frontiers. I am so little acquainted with the business relative to my private affairs . . . I know I ought to have some tobacco and that it ought to be shipped . . . I have begged the favour of Fielding Lewis Esquire . . . on Rappahannock, to do this for me."[5]

When ordering shipments of articles from Robert Cary and Company, London, Washington frequently instructed "the following things addressed to the care of Fielding Lewis Esqr. at Fredericksburg," stating that Lewis would "send them round."[6]

". . . if no opportunity offers sooner of remitting money to me, I shall be glad to receive it . . . in this place, or to get Colo Fielding Lewis to transact my business," wrote Washington to John Fry from Williamsburg on March 10, 1773, in regard to a financial matter.[7]

On June 10, 1774, Washington wrote George William Fairfax from Williamsburg: "I have left your money with Colonel Fielding Lewis to dispose of for a Bill of £ 200 Sterling which I suppose will be near the amount. . . ."[8] And to the same gentleman from Cambridge, July 26, 1775, Washington wrote: "When I left home I put Syme's protested bill, with some business of my own, into the hands of Colonel Lewis to negotiate. . . ."[9]

Writing from Mount Vernon on April 30, 1775, to Warner Lewis, Washington states: "It is not in my power to attend the meeting of Merchants in Williamsburg this spring, but Colo Fielding Lewis will do me the favour to negotiate my business this Court."[10]

And in a letter from Mount Vernon, April 20, 1773, in

which he gives explicit directions to Fielding Lewis, Washington wrote: "I have resolved to postpone my journey [to Williamsburg] and of course to give you the trouble of doing my business there."[11]

Had the papers and correspondence of Colonel Lewis been preserved, they would no doubt have thrown interesting light upon the shipments of his day in the Rappahannock River. Like other contemporary planters, it is probable that he shipped tobacco either to agents in Liverpool, London, or Edinburgh, or sold direct to agents at the different river landings. The remnant of one of Lewis's books exists. The flyleaf or cover is outlined with a border of flowers sketched with pen and ink. In the center written in large lettering with elaborate flourishes is the name "Fielding Lewis & Co." with "Fredericksbg" printed below in heavy ink. Inscribed upon the one inside page in Lewis's clear handwriting is the "Invoice of sundry Linens taken by Mr. Phillips to sell on Commission for Fielding Lewis & Co 12 May '78." On the list is:

1 pc (piece) Rouen Linen . . . 29 Ells . . . 36¼ yds
1 pc . . . Royall do . . . 22½ yds . . . etc.
15 pieces, N.B. from the prices above, deduct 15 per cent by retail, & 20 per cent by the piece.[12]

It would be interesting to know the names of the other partners included in the "Company."

A letter from Williamsburg, October 28, 1774, "to Colonel Fielding Lewis" and written by his stepbrother Robert Carter, states: "I want about 300 feet of hemp, a sett of Haskles to prepare Hemp for spinning, and one wheal complete for spinning Hemp thread. Pray procure for me the articles mentioned above on the best terms, and forward them

to Mr. Fauntleroy's ferry on the north side of Rappahannoc River a little below Naylor's hole directed to me."[13]

Robert Carter wrote again "to Col. Fielding Lewis, Merchant at Fredericksburg," on the fourteenth of November from Nomini Hall: "The necessity of having a quantity of Hemp and Flax seed did not occur to me when I saw you last—this then is to desire you to procure for me Flax seed for about 100 negroes, Hemp seed for ditto—ditto, and find the seed mentioned above with the articles mentioned in a former letter etc."[14]

In *The Present State of Virginia*, the Rev. Hugh Jones wrote in 1724: ". . . these uplands seem very good for hemp and flax . . . if the manufacture thereof was but encouraged and promoted thereabouts; which might prove of wonderful advantage in our naval stores and linens."[15]

CHAPTER VIII

Road to Revolution

With the passing years Lewis rose to a position of distinction in Spotsylvania County. His repeated appointments to responsible offices give proof of his ability and of the regard in which he was held by persons in authority. His efficiency as a man of affairs, his courtly dignity and polished manners gained the respect of the people of the community who recognized in him a gentleman of wealth and integrity, a natural leader. In the year 1760 Fielding Lewis was elected to the House of Burgesses as one of the representatives of Spotsylvania,[1] having reached the age of thirty-five when he began his legislative career. The office of a burgess was a position to which many gentlemen aspired, and he must have welcomed an opportunity for carrying on the tradition of public service which he had inherited.

There was probably a great stirring about at Kenmore while Colonel Lewis was setting his affairs in order, making arrangements to be absent from home twice a year during the sessions of the Assembly. In traveling to Williamsburg, Lewis

undoubtedly traversed the same route so often used by Washington. In truth the two men frequently traveled together. After leaving Fredericksburg the way led over practically the same main road to Bowling Green that runs today, then, turning sharply left, went past the former Caroline Court House, where the inn near by was usually the first stop. The road continued for thirty-seven miles beyond Fredericksburg until Hubbard's Ordinary was reached. This inn was customarily used for spending the night. After leaving Hubbard's, the road crossed the Mattaponi River at Todd's Bridge, into King and Queen County. The next stopping place was King William Court House, and one mile farther the road turned to the right, crossing over the Pamunkey River at Williams Ferry into New Kent County. From this point it proceeded on to Williamsburg.[2]

Washington records in his diary on April 27, 1768: "Set out for Williamsburg with Mrs. Washington, Jacky and Patsy Custis and Billy Bassett. Reached Fredericksburg." And continues the next day, "Stayed there all day at Colo Lewis'." The following day, "Proceeded on our journey and reached Hubbard's Ordinary in company with Colo Lewis and Mr. Dick."[3] Again in the following May, Washington makes record of going to Williamsburg with "Colo Bassett, Colo Lewis and Mr. Dick," and in October of the same year he "Dined at Parker's Ordinary and lodged at Mr. Benj. Hubbard's. Colo Lewis also."[4]

During the sessions of the Virginia Assembly in Williamsburg, Colonel Lewis may have established himself either at the Raleigh Tavern, the King's Arms, or the Red Lion, where other members lodged. The colonial capital, which was a quiet village for the greater part of the year, awakened

from its calm during the sessions of the House of Burgesses and became the social center of Virginia. The season was enlivened by races, cockfights, plays, and fairs, and the city was filled with activity. Notable persons were there for Lewis to observe; vast forces for him to study.

Several years earlier the Rev. Hugh Jones, when describing Williamsburg, wrote: "From the church runs a street northward called Palace Street; at the other end of which stands the Palace, or Governor's House, a magnificent structure, built at the public expense, finished and beautified with gates, fine gardens, offices, walks, a fine canal, orchards, etc. . . . At the Capitol, at public times may be seen a great number of handsome, well dressed, compleat gentlemen. And at the Governor's House upon Birth-Nights, and at balls and assemblies, I have seen as fine an appearance, as good diversion and as splendid entertainments . . . as I have seen any where else. . . . Williamsburg . . . is well stocked with rich stores of all sorts of goods, and well furnished with the best provisions and liquors. Here dwell several very good families, and more reside here in their own houses at public times. They live in the same neat manner, dress after the same modes and behave themselves exactly as the gentry in London."[5]

It was in "this . . . thriving city of Williamsburg" that Lewis spent part of his time during the eight following years, when he entered the capital to have a seat of his own in the General Assembly, as one of the lawmakers of the colony. Governor Francis Fauquier had arrived in the colony in 1758. He "was everything that could have been wished for by Virginia under a royal governor. Generous, liberal, elegant in his manner and acquirements, his example left an impression of

ease, refinement and erudition on the character of the colony . . . he was the ablest character who ever filled the chair of government in Virginia, before the Revolution," according to the historian John Burk. The patron of learning and of learned men, Williamsburg flourished under his governorship, and so great was his popularity that "Fauquier was the ornament and delight of Virginia."[6] In truth, "the period of his stay may not be inaptly termed the 'golden age' of colonial Virginia."[7]

The training and experience in public affairs which Lewis had received through the various forms of public life in his locality, as gentleman justice, vestryman, and commander of the Spotsylvania militia, besides his experience as a merchant, had enlarged his usefulness. By far the largest portion of the service rendered by Lewis as a burgess points to his business ability.

When the Virginia Assembly met for the March session in 1761, Lewis found himself appointed to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances and to the Committee of Trade. The duties of the former were "to meet from day to day and take into their consideration all propositions and grievances that shall come legally certified to this Assembly, and to report their proceedings from time to time." Among other members of this committee we read the familiar names of George Wythe, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and Archibald Cary.[8]

Serving with Lewis on the Committee of Trade were Edmund Pendleton, Francis Lightfoot Lee, William Fitzhugh, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, and others, who were ordered "to meet from day to day and take into their

consideration all things relating to the Trade of this Colony."[9]

Besides his brother-in-law George Washington, many of the members of the House of Burgesses were in all probability well known to Lewis. William Fitzhugh, representative from Stafford, whose beautiful home, Chatham, was almost directly across the Rappahannock River from Kenmore, was his close neighbor and friend. Another neighbor, Benjamin Grymes, served with Lewis as his colleague representative from Spotsylvania. Thomas Marshall from Fauquier, the Lees from Westmoreland, Charles Carter from King George, the representatives from Caroline and Gloucester counties—all of these men no doubt gave Lewis a warm welcome at the capital.

In his address before the Assembly in May 1763, Governor Fauquier declared: "I . . . must communicate joy to all true lovers of their country. I mean the conclusion of a most glorious and honorable peace between his Majesty and all his enemies."[10] The news of the Treaty of Paris concluded at this time, which terminated the war with the French and Indians, was gladly welcomed, for by that measure almost all of the continent of America lying east of the Mississippi was assured to England.

The question of settling the accounts of the militia in a number of counties was discussed by the burgesses at the session of the Assembly in 1764. "Wheras several companies of militia . . . have been drawn out into actual service by command of his honour the Governor, for the defence and protection of the colony against the depredations of the Indians, and it will be a great saving to the colony to have the accounts of their pay, etc. . . . adjusted by commissioners . . . ,"

George Washington, Fielding Lewis, Thomas Marshall, William Green, and Thomas Rutherford, Gentlemen, were appointed commissioners for the counties of Fauquier, Hampshire, Frederick, Culpeper, Prince William, and Loudon, "to examine, state, and settle the accounts of such pay, provisions, arms and necessaries for the militia of the counties."[11]

During the same year Lewis was appointed to serve on a committee to inspect and to ascertain the price of sundry Indian goods which belonged to the public.[12]

Lewis was undoubtedly among those members of the Virginia House of Burgesses who were appalled by the declaratory act preceding the Stamp Act which laid down the parliamentary right of taxing the colonies. In his *History of Virginia*, Burk writes: "Roused by the declared intention of Parliament to tax the colonies, the people passed rapidly from apprehension to resentment, from resentment to rage and indignation."[13]

News of the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament in 1765, to assist in paying the expenses of the war with the French and Indians, brought forth a storm of protest in the colonies. No attention was paid by Parliament to the protests. It was at that time that Patrick Henry, recently elected member of the Virginia House of Burgesses from Louisa County, offered before the assembly his series of resolutions. In the stormy debate which followed, resulting in the adoption of the resolutions, Mr. Henry electrified the house with a speech which, according to Burk, "seemed like the inspiration of prophecy. . . . Tarquin and Caesar," he exclaimed "had each his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III . . ." (here he was interrupted by the cry of 'treason,'—"may profit by their example; if this be treason, make the most of it."[14]

Tidings of the resolutions, and the debate following, traveled quickly through the colonies and caused a great sensation. Heated discussions were heard over all the countryside as opposition to the Stamp Act increased in all parts of America. Conferences were held, colonies met together in determined resistance, and the people waited patiently for the shaping of affairs.

The pressure was too great for the English ministry. There was a change of government in England from the Grenville ministry, who originated the Stamp Act, to that of Lord Rockingham. The Stamp Act was repealed by Parliament on March 17, 1766,[15] and sounds of rejoicing and the ringing of bells were heard throughout the land as the people demonstrated their joy. The *Virginia Gazette* published "Great and Glorious News to America. An express arrived in town this evening from Mr. Jordan who came passenger in the Lord Baltimore, arrived in the York river from London, who brings a certain account of the repeal of the Abhorred Stamp Act."[16]

"In the first effusion of their rejoicing a resolution was adopted for erecting an obelisk. . . ." When the Virginia Assembly met December 4, 1766, Fielding Lewis was appointed member of a committee together with Messrs. Francis Lightfoot Lee, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and others "to prepare an inscription for the Obelisk intended to be raised to express the gratitude of this colony to the several noble and worthy patriots who distinguished themselves in both Houses of Parliament of Great Britain in procuring the repeal of the Stamp Act."[17]

The period of rejoicing was of short duration. In 1767 Lord Townshend was elected Chancellor of the Exchequer

and under his lead the British Parliament laid duties on paper, lead, tea, glass, and painters' colors brought into the colonies. He also demanded that the colonial Assemblies provide support and accommodation for troops being sent to America. This caused further unrest and a growing murmur of discontent, not in Virginia alone, but from her sister colonies. In April 1767 Fielding Lewis served on a committee appointed by the General Assembly, together with Messrs. Tabb, Braxton, Pendleton, Blair, Bland, and Henry Lee, to draw up "an humble address to His Majesty, to represent the Great Distress of this colony for want of sufficient circulating medium for the purpose of Trade and Commerce . . . under the present circumstances we shall be unable to pay the great balance due to Great Britain unless we are permitted to issue a sufficient quantity of paper money to supply the deficiency."[18]

In the same month the Virginia Assembly applauded the "attention" of the Massachusetts Assembly "to American liberty," and reaffirmed "the exclusive right of the American Assemblies to tax the American colonies."[19]

When not engaged in official occupations in Williamsburg, Colonel Lewis no doubt enjoyed the social functions of the capital. And if duties with her fast-growing family permitted, it is very likely that at times Mrs. Lewis accompanied him in the post chariot to attend some of the balls, dinners, and plays which enlivened Williamsburg at the time when all the colony congregated during the season. There can be no doubt that her wardrobe contained costumes suitable for any formal occasion, for there was much entertaining in Fredericksburg also, as well as upon the neighboring plantations, and we may be sure that Betty Lewis and her friends

followed eagerly the latest London fashions. Moreover, materials for new gowns and accessories could easily be procured in her own town.

The *Virginia Gazette* records the advertisement of "Catharine Randall, Milliner. Lately arrived from London, at present in Fredericksburg, Virginia, with best flowered and plain satins, a great variety of ribands, French beads and ear rings, silk and leather gloves and mitts, Persians flowered and striped, and plain English gauze. Gentleman's laced ruffles, pearl and stone sleeve buttons set in silver, a variety of silver buckles, bags for wigs. She also makes all sorts of millinery in the best and newest taste."[20]

Another advertisement appearing in the *Gazette* from Fredericksburg at the same time called attention to James Hamilton, who "makes and sells all sorts of gold and silver work, buckles, buttons, rings, chains and lockets."[21]

Any visits to Williamsburg or elsewhere would of necessity have had to be made by Betty Lewis between the arrivals of new additions to her family. "A daughter named Betty," was recorded by Colonel Lewis in his family Bible, "born the 23rd of February, 1765, the Rev. Thomas Rice and Warner Washington, Godfathers, and Mrs. Hannah Washington, godmother, and Miss Frances Lewis." And two years later, Lewis recorded "Our ninth, a son named Lawrence, born the 4th of April, 1767. Mr. Charles Washington and Mr. Francis Thornton, godfathers, Mrs. Mary Dick, godmother."

When the *Virginia Gazette* was delivered by the printer's apprentice to Colonel Lewis during his stay in Williamsburg, his eye was no doubt attracted to advertisements of "certain ships intending for England," and of "A Tract of land to be sold at the Fredericksburg Fair in June next." His

friend Roger Dixon of Fredericksburg was advertising "European merchandize, men's and women's saddles . . . also a quantity of Madeira wine in pipes."[22] Of particular interest must have been a notice, signed by his own name, which he must have authorized: "To be sold by the subscribers in Fredericksburg on Monday, the 2nd of March next, being Court Day, for the benefit of the insurers, sundry damaged goods, viz. Woolens, Sail Duck, British Oznabrigs, etc., imported in the Betsy, Captain Boswell, from Liverpool. Fielding Lewis, James Duncanson."[23]

Perhaps of even greater significance to Lewis was an advertisement published in the *Virginia Gazette:* "To be sold at Captain Robert Ashby's in Fauquier county on Wednesday, 25th of November, upwards of 13,000 acres of land wherof George Carter Esq. died seized in fee simple and to be sold for performance of his Will, viz. a tract at Ashby's bend containing 3312 acres," another at Williams Gap, others on Opekan in Frederick County and in the fork of Goose Creek containing thousands of acres. "These lands are convenient to Rappahannock and Potomack rivers, very good for corn, wheat or tobacco having also a large proportion of meadow bottom, and will be sold together or in parcels as will be agreed upon at that date. Robert Burwell, George Washington and Fielding Lewis, Esquires, Trustees."[24] It may have been that Lewis himself was able to purchase some of these tracts to add to his holdings in Frederick County.

An act taken by the General Assembly one year earlier had appointed Robert Burwell, George Washington, and Fielding Lewis, Esquires, or any two of them, to serve as trustees to sell lands of George Carter hitherto unsold.[25] And about the same time Fielding Lewis, William Fitzhugh of

Marmion, Charles Washington, Esquires, and five others were appointed trustees to dispose of 25,496 acres under the will of Charles Carter of Cleve.[26]

George Washington and Fielding Lewis were among the thirteen incorporators associated in the Dismal Swamp Land Company. Articles of Agreement were made between several gentlemen who agreed "to associate as a company for taking up and draining a large body of land called the Dismal Swamp."[27] Certain agents and trustees were chosen "to view the land and determine in what manner the same shall be drained and improved, and what money shall from time to time be paid for each share by the proprietor therof. . . ." The Articles were signed by William Nelson, Thomas Nelson, Robert Burwell, John Robinson, Thomas Walker, George Washington, Fielding Lewis, Anthony Baker, by Fielding Lewis their Atty., J. Syme, S. Gist, Robert Tucker, William Waters, Frs Farley.[28]

In his diary on May 2, 1768, Washington notes, "Went to Williamsburg with Colo Bassett, Colo Lewis and Mr. Dick. Dined with Mrs. Dawson and went to the Play."[29] At a general court held at the capital four days later, the Articles of Agreement made by the incorporators of the Dismal Swamp Company "were acknowledged by William Nelson, Esq'rs George Washington, Fielding Lewis, and Francis Farley, Gentlemen, parties therto."

In his ledger Washington kept detailed accounts of all expenses of the company of adventurers, "Messrs Lewis, Bassett, Walker and myself in our first trip to the Dismal Swamp," in May 1763. His record shows that Colonel Lewis provided "the horses and a tumbrel Cart."[30]

Washington makes record in his diary of another trip he

made with Lewis to the Dismal Swamp: "Oct. 22, 1768, Dined at Parker's Ordinary and lodged at Mr. Benj. Hubbard's. Colo Lewis also."[31] Next day they "Dined at the Causey and got to Col. Jas. Valentines, sent chairs and horses over James river and lodged in Williamsburg ourselves." Two days later the travelers "crossed James river and were by rain forced to lodge at Capn Stowe's." On the following day they "breakfasted in Suffolk, dined and lodged in the Dismal Swamp at John Washington's." On October 27, "Went up to our plantation at Norfleets' and returned in the afternoon." Next day Washington continues: "Went into the pond with Colo Lewis, Maj. Riddick and John Washington, and at night went to ye Major's."[32]

The nine years during the critical pre-Revolutionary period in which Lewis served as a member of the Virginia Assembly undoubtedly influenced his later career as a public servant. His name does not appear upon the list of burgesses as representative from Spotsylvania after the year 1769. In a letter to Washington before the county elections in 1769, Lewis wrote: "I hope you have had an agreeable journey to the Springs, and that Miss Custis[33] has been benefitted by them. . . . The late wind and rain has done incredible damage below [Fredericksburg]; all the fodder entirely lost and the corn blown down, tobacco in the fields lost, and several ships driven ashore. We have suffered in this neighborhood, but not considerably. Our elections come on next Monday, cannot say who will be our burgesses, though expect Benjamin Grymes will be one. . . . Mr. Dixon and Mr. Marye are the other two that offer, and it is believed Mr. Dixon will be chosen."[34] It is apparent that Lewis had not "offered" himself for re-election at that period.

Kenmore and the Lewises

Colonel Lewis's commission of justice was renewed at intervals many times after his first appointment. He continued to serve his county in a judicial capacity as gentleman justice at the court until the year 1778. Often his name appears heading the list of justices, indicating that he was presiding magistrate. Five times during the year 1774 he was the presiding justice at the court of Spotsylvania, four times in 1775, six times in 1776, four times in 1777, and three times in 1778.

CHAPTER IX

Calm Before the Storm

EVEN after he was no longer a member of the Assembly, Lewis was continually called upon to serve the colony. After the great freshet in 1771 which caused the overflow of several rivers and the destruction of large quantities of tobacco, Fielding Lewis, Richard Bland, Archibald Cary, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Ludwell Lee were among a number of gentlemen appointed commissioners by the Assembly for examining and stating the accounts and claims of the proprietors of tobacco damaged or destroyed in certain warehouses by the freshet.[1]

The following year Lewis was one of seven commissioners appointed by the General Assembly, "to strike a dividing line between the counties of Stafford and King George by marking out a line from the Rappahannock to the Potomac river."[2]

Alive to the issues of the hour and responsive to its demands, it must have been with serious concern that Lewis returned to his home after attending his last session of the As-

sembly as burgess. It was apparent that clouds were slowly gathering. His experience, gained when a member of the Committee of Trade over a period of years, as well as that acquired by his own shipping business, enabled him to discern plainly how the increased taxes were affecting commerce.

At this time the beloved little Betty was a maiden of three years, and Lawrence just learning to walk. A devoted husband and father, family letters show Colonel Lewis's warm affection and constant concern for the welfare of his family. He made another record in his Bible of "Robert Lewis, tenth child of Fielding and Betty Lewis, born 25th of January 1769, Mr. George Thornton and Mr. Peter Marye, godfathers. Miss Mildred Willis and Mrs. Ann Lewis, godmothers."

Lewis was deeply interested in the development of Fredericksburg and the community, which he had made his home for more than twenty years. His name is included with other members of the vestry of St. George's Parish in a petition to the House of Burgesses stating that the churchyard of the parish, which lay for the most part on a hill, was not a proper situation for the new church which it would soon be necessary to build, and requesting that the petitioners be empowered to sell that part of the churchyard which had not been used as a burying ground. And further, to invest the money arising from the sale in the purchase of other land more conveniently situated.[3]

The *Virginia Gazette* in 1768 published for several months "A Scheme for raising four hundred and fifty pounds to be laid out by the managers . . . towards building a new church in the town of Fredericksburg, and in the purchase of an organ . . . the said Lottery will certainly be drawn on

the 28th of December next at the Town Hall in Fredericksburg under the direction of Mann Page, Fielding Lewis, Charles Dick, Roger Dixon, Hugh Mercer, Charles Washington, Francis Thornton, Lewis Willis, Gentlemen."[4]

Lotteries at that period were recognized by law as a legitimate means for raising money. Often used for praiseworthy purposes, they had gained a hold in the colonies. The *Virginia Gazette* contains news of another lottery "for disposing of certain lands, slaves, and stocks belonging to Bernard Moore," signed by John Randolph, George Washington, Fielding Lewis, Archibald Cary, Carter Braxton, Richard Henry Lee, and Benjamin Harrison.[5]

From Washington's diary in 1769 we learn that on the fifth of March he "went up to Alexandria after [young] Fielding Lewis and brought him down to dinner." On the next day he "set out with Fielding Lewis for Fredericksburg." On the seventh Washington continues, "Went to Fredericksburg and remained there all day, dining at Colo Lewises." On the eighth, "Still there, dined at same place. Evening at Weedons at ye Club."[6]

George Weedon kept an ordinary in Fredericksburg, and the ledger, bearing the names of George Weedon and Charles Washington, shows that the two gentlemen were "In Partnership," for several years. The "accounts for the partnership" show the purchases made in 1772–73 by Colonel Fielding Lewis, and it is apparent that Lewis obtained supplies for his vessels from his brother-in-law Charles Washington and George Weedon. The various items included "beef for your Shipper," "to barrell beef—Capt. Sinclair—three pounds, sixpence," "to Capt. Sinclair's Acct for fresh beef," etc. Perhaps the several "quarters of lamb" and "hind

quarter of beef" may have been furnished Lewis for his home use.[7]

Journeying home from Williamsburg in the month of December 1769, Washington reached Fredericksburg on the afternoon of the twenty-third, "dining at Colo Lewis's." The next day being Christmas Eve, he notes in his diary, "Went to prayers [most probably at St. George's Church], and dined afterw[ar]ds at Colo Lewis." On December 25 he made the brief record: "Dined and spent the evening at Colo Lewis's."[8] If Betty Lewis had only kept a diary herself, surely she would have recorded with more detail the happenings of that Christmas Day. We may allow our fancy to picture the scene in the Lewis home, made even more festive than usual because of the visit from a favorite relative; the great preparations going on in the kitchen outside, the excitement of the children as they ran hither and thither, bringing in holly and cedar greens for decking the house, the huge logs blazing on the hearths. What a picture the family group must have made, full of life and color, when, after the Christmas feast, they gathered in the great room with candlelight flickering on the walls. Perhaps the children played some of the well-loved English games, and joined with their elders in singing carols. No doubt there was a bowl of steaming punch, and in all probability Colonel Lewis brought out some of his finest madeira.[9] On December 26 Washington recorded, "Dined at Colo Lewis and went over the River and lodged at my Mother's."

The merchants in Virginia evidently felt growing concern over the acts passed by Parliament, fearing that war with England would bring about their financial ruin. Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick, together with James Hunter,



Dining room (*a portrait of Colonel Fielding Lewis on wall*)



The library with windows toward eastern front

Charles Yates, and three other gentlemen of Fredericksburg engaged in commerce, attended a meeting in Williamsburg June 28, 1770, when a large number of merchants assembled at the house of Mr. Anthony Hay. There a committee was appointed "to take under their consideration the general state of the Trade in this colony."[10]

Colonel and Mrs. Washington and frail young Patsy Custis were in Fredericksburg for several days in July and also in August in the year 1770, and they "lodged" as usual at Colonel Lewis's. According to the brief entries in Washington's diary, there was a barbecue one evening "with a great deal of other company," and he writes of going to church in Fredericksburg, and of frequent visits to his mother at Ferry Farm.[11]

During the latter part of August in the same year Washington, at Colchester on business, notes in his diary that "Colo Lewis, my sister Betty, and Brother Charles passed this, in their way to Mount Vernon."[12] After returning to his home Washington continues to record "Where and how my time is spent." The events of each passing day show it must have been a pleasant family party. "My brother Samuel and his wife and children came hither from Fredericksburg in their way to Frederick county." There were three fishing trips during the twelve days the Lewises and Charles Washingtons were at Mount Vernon, one "into the mouth of Doegs Creek"; another must have been in the nature of a picnic, for they "went a-fishing along toward Sheradine Point. Dined on the Point." Again they were "At home all day playing cards."[13] Another day Washington writes of riding to the mill with Colonel Lewis and returning to dinner.

These were calm days before the storm that was slowly

gathering. During the four following years Washington frequently spent several days at a time in Fredericksburg, always staying at the Lewis home. He "dined at Colo Lewis's" on his way back to Mount Vernon after attending the sessions of the Assembly when the new Non-Importation Association was formed "at this alarming and critical juncture."[14] Upon the occasion of Washington's visits there naturally was constant talk of the state of public affairs and of the relations of the colonies with England.

When journeying to Williamsburg on the twenty-fourth of October 1771, and stopping, as was his custom, at the seat of Colonel Lewis, Washington mentions in his diary that he spent all of the next day "with my mother, having lost my horses." On October 26 he was "At Colo Lewis's all day. Mr. Wormley and others dining there." The following day he "Continued on to Williamsburg, having found my horses."[15] In his expense account upon this date Washington notes that he gave George and Charles Lewis one pound sixpence.[16] Although the reason for the gift is not stated, the inference seems plain that the boys found his horses. What a sight it would have been on that late October day, with trees aflame with scarlet and gold, to have seen the two Lewis boys as they raced or rode over the fields and through the woods of the Lewis plantation, and to have heard them shouting to one another amid the barking of dogs, when they sought for and at length found their uncle's lost horses! George was at that time fourteen, and Charles eleven years old.

In a letter written to Washington in May 1773 Colonel Lewis, after wishing him a good journey, continues: "As

you pass Prince Town call and see my sons, who, I am sure will have great pleasure in seeing you."[17]

It would be of interest to know which of Colonel Lewis's sons were at Princeton in the year 1773. George Lewis was sixteen years of age at the time, and Charles thirteen. Although Princeton University has a complete record of graduates since the founding of the university, the files of early non-graduates are incomplete owing to the destruction of valuable records during the occupation of Nassau Hall by British troops during the Revolution, and by later fires. However, the files contain the record of a George Lewis attending Princeton University in 1772, who was a non-graduate. Whether he was from Fredericksburg and whether he and his brother Charles were students at Princeton is a matter of conjecture. Several leather-bound Latin grammars and other schoolbooks inscribed with the name of George Washington Lewis, which still remain in his former home, Marmion, in King George County today, may well have been used during school days at Princeton.

Fielding Lewis, Jr., at the age of eighteen married Ann (Nancy) Alexander, daughter of Gerard Alexander and his wife of Fairfax County, in 1769. The Alexanders were large landholders in Fairfax. From his father, who bore the same name, Gerard Alexander had inherited the estate, comprising 1100 acres, subsequently called Arlington. This property he sold on Christmas Day, 1778, to John Parke Custis, from whom it passed to George Washington Parke Custis. Gerard Alexander was evidently a close friend of Colonel Fielding Lewis, for in later years his name appears as a witness of Lewis's will.[18]

It is apparent that Lewis spoke freely to his brother-in-

law in regard to family affairs. An affectionate father, Lewis was not blind to the faults of his children. Writing to Washington on September 16, 1769, he confided the failings of his youthful son: "I expect you will receive a letter from my son Fielding enclosing an order on Mr. Robert Alexander for the balance of his wife's fortune which I am very apprehensive is reduced to a small sum. . . . Mr. Alexander . . . requests that the balance may be taken out of his hands and disposed of in the manner I shall think most to Fielding's advantage. I shall therefore be obliged to you to purchase slaves to the amount. He has already bought three very ordinary hands, and unless he gets very good ones for the remainder of his money he will not be able to live. Indeed I am almost certain that he will in a year or two spend every shilling, as I cannot perceive the least amendment since his marriage. Nor has he the least regard to any advice I give him."[19]

It was upon the twelfth of December of the year 1771 that Howell, the eleventh and last child of Fielding and Betty Lewis, was born at Kenmore. Mr. John Jones and Mr. James Warner were his godfathers; Mrs. Mary Dick and Mrs. Nelly Dick, his godmothers.[20]

CHAPTER X

Decisive Days

THE YEAR 1773 saw affairs coming to a crisis and the colonies drawing nearer together in order to unite in defense of their liberties. In March of that year at sessions of the Assembly in Williamsburg, measures were taken for forming intercolonial committees of correspondence. Toward the end of the year the stirring news of the Boston Tea Party[1] was received in Virginia.

Feeling ran high in the seething year of 1774. At a meeting of burgesses in the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg in May, an association was adopted "forbidding exporting as well as importing. The colonies responded to the Association . . . appointing local committees to enforce the boycott."[2] The personnel of these committees consisted for the most part of prominent and trusted men who took their duties in earnest. They assembled at the courthouses and played an important part in the life of the community, standing as they did for law and order. The committee of the

town of Fredericksburg, organized on the first day of June 1774,[3] with the name of Fielding Lewis heading the list of its members, was the third of these local committees to be formed in Virginia, one having been formed in Alexandria on the twenty-eighth of May, another in Dumfries three days later. It is probable that the local committees were predecessors of the regular county committees of safety which were established in the following year.

When the measures taken by the British ministry in regard to the closing of the port of Boston became generally known, the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies.

June 1, 1774, was set aside as a day of fasting and prayer when the port of Boston became closed and the Boston Port Bill began to operate. The *Virginia Gazette* published the following: "Fredericksburg, June 2, 1774. Yesterday being the day set apart by the Members of the late House of Burgesses as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine Interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens Destruction to the civil rights of America, the same was accordingly observed by the Inhabitants of this place, who repaired to church and heard an excellent Sermon preached by the Reverend James Marye from Psalm XII, verse III: 'Help Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail among the children of men.' Much credit is due to the ladies for the part they took in our Association and it does honor to their sex. For no sooner were they made acquainted with the Resolution to prohibit the use of Tea after the first of June, but before the day came they sealed up the stock which they had on hand and vowed never more to use it till the oppressive Act imposing

a duty thereon should be repealed. May their Example be followed by all the ladies on this Continent!"[4]

It may have been that after going to church upon the day set apart, there was an assemblage of the citizens of Fredericksburg who took an important stand to express their indignation concerning the highhanded act of the home governments in closing the port of Boston. "Fredericksburg, June 1, 1774. At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Fredericksburg in the county of Spotsylvania and the colony of Virginia at the Town House on Wednesday the first day of June, 1774. Resolved, that it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting to concur in every proper measure that may be expedient by our Sister Colonys on this important occasion respecting the Hostile Invasion of the rights and liberties of the town of Boston.

"Resolved that Messrs Fielding Lewis, Charles Dick, Charles Mortimer, Charles Washington, William Woodford, James Duncanson, William Porter, George Thornton, Charles Yates, be appointed a committee for this town, to correspond with the neighboring towns and counties for the purpose of communicating to each other in the most speedy manner, their sentiments on the present Interesting, Alarming Situation of America. . . ."[5]

In October 1774 the Continental Congress recommended that county committees be organized "to carry into effect the Continental Association—that boycott designed to force the English government to terms by loss of trade."[6]

Spotsylvania County was not long in following this recommendation. It is our good fortune that the document which describes the election and also the first meeting of the committee has been preserved: "At a meeting of the Free-

holders of the county of Spotsylvania at the Court House on the 14th day of December pursuant to the eleventh Article of the Continental Association of public notice for that purpose given, the following Gentlemen were elected a Committee for the said county by Ballot—to-wit Fielding Lewis . . ." (etc., naming five).

"At a meeting of the Committee of the County of Spotsylvania at the Town House in Fredericksburg on Thursday the 15th day of December 1774—

Present
Fielding Lewis &c 26 in Number

Resolved nem: con: that Fielding Lewis Esq. be appointed Chairman of this Committee. . . . The Association of the Continental Congress being read. Resolved nem: con: that the same is binding on all the people of this Colony, but to obviate all doubts, the same ought to be acceded to by this Committee of the people of this County. Resolved that the several members of this Committee offer the said Association to be subscribed by the Gentlemen Merchants of Fredericksburg and others of this County and return a List of the Subscribers to the monthly meeting and if any shall refuse to subscribe, that their names be reported to the said monthly meeting.

"Resolved that Fielding Lewis, James Mercer, Charles Washington, Lewis Willis and James Allen, Gent. or any three of them do attend the Merchants in this town to subscribe the Association of the General Congress, and that George Stubblefield, Harry Stubblefield, Oliver Towls and William Smith and Thomas Towles Gent. or any three of them do attend the Merchants in the country for the same purpose.

"Resolved that Charles Dick, Charles Washington, Lewis Willis, Francis Thornton and George Thornton or any three of them do engage a warehouse to receive the Subscriptions for the Town of Boston, and correspond with the neighboring Committees respecting the same, and also give notice to the people of this county where they are to lodge their Grain and that they do contract for the exportation of such Grain and report their proceedings to the next general meeting.

"Resolved that it be recommended to the people of this county to raise Independent Companies of public spirited gentlemen to be ready on all occasions to Defend this colony and to act in conjunction with the Independent Companies of the other Counties when it shall be judged most necessary, and that they furnish themselves with proper arms and ammunition, and that Fielding Lewis Esq. Lieutenant of this County, Collo Hugh Mercer, Collo Joseph Brock, Collo Wm Dangerfield, Capt. William Dangerfield, Capt. Mordecai Buckner, Capt. George Stubblefield, and Mr. James Mercer or any three of them draw up proper Regulations for the forming of such Companies to be laid before the next monthly meeting—

"Resolved, that the importation of Arms and Ammunition from all places whatsoever is in the opinion of this Committee in the Design and Spirit of the Continental Association.

"Resolved that one thousand lb of Gunpowder, 4000 Wt of lead, and a sufficient quantity of gun Flints be provided for the use of this County subject to the future disposition of this Committee, that Subscriptions be set on foot to defray the expence, and in the meantime this Committee be [ms. defaced] able for the same, and that Fielding Lewis,

Charles Dick, James Mercer, Charles Washington, Lewis Willis, Francis Thornton, George Thornton, Gent., be empowered to contract for the same on behalf of this Committee.

"Resolved that this Committee do meet at the Town House in Fredericksburg on Spotsylvania Court Day or the next Fair Day in every month, and that not less than twenty three members shall make such Committee.

"Resolved, that on any Emergency, the Chairman of this Committee, or in his absence Mr. Charles Dick or Mr. George Thornton be empowered to call a special Committee to consist of at least nine members, a majority of whom may determine any matter that shall come before them and that they report their proceedings to the next monthly meeting."[7]

We may be certain that Betty Lewis experienced in full measure the fears, doubts, and anxieties which were sweeping through the colonies. She had only to observe the grave expression upon her husband's face to realize the seriousness of the times. Besides everything else, their beloved eleven-year-old son Samuel fell sick and died on the last day of December 1774, a blow which must have brought heavy sorrow to the closely knit family.

CHAPTER XI

Champion of Liberty

THE SKIES darkened ominously in the year 1775, when it became more evident from day to day that war with England was inevitable. In the peaceful town of Fredericksburg groups of people gathered to discuss their growing dissatisfaction with the British government. Although a number of citizens were still loyal to the Crown and prudently held back, those who favored revolution met together in Weedon's Tavern, excited over impending events, and planned for the defense of the colony.

Washington was in Fredericksburg in March 1775 when he "set off for Richmond" to attend the second Virginia Convention. And he stopped there again on his way home ten days later. On the thirtieth of March he notes in his diary, "At Fredericksburg all day. Dined at Colo Lewis's."[1] Upon this occasion he no doubt brought news of the convention and described the scene on March 23 when the members of the Virginia Convention assembled at St. John's Church and Patrick Henry introduced his famous bill for organizing the

militia,[2] and uttered the famous words which had so shaken the delegates to the convention. ". . . Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me . . . give me liberty, or give me death!" Colonel and Mrs. Lewis and their children must have been stirred to the depths as they listened to Washington's account and realized the significance of Henry's speech, and also of the committee appointed by the convention for preparing a plan for arming and training the militia. George Washington was a member of the committee.

It was probably when Washington stopped in Fredericksburg in March that he and his sister agreed the time had come for their mother to leave Ferry Farm and occupy the cottage which he had bought for her some time previously.[3] By this means she would be safe from the despoiling bands of enemy soldiers. Perhaps Colonel and Mrs. Lewis accompanied Washington over the river to Ferry Farm to talk over the matter with Mary Washington and impress upon her the overwhelming seriousness of the times. It was no doubt a difficult decision for Mrs. Washington, torn as she must have been between the desire to fulfill her son's wishes and the longing to remain in the home where she had spent more than thirty happy years, surrounded by her own possessions and the flowers and shrubs of her own planting. When the Lewises urged her to come and live with them, it is said that this self-reliant woman thanked them but firmly declined.

However much Mary Washington may have dreaded the move, after she was comfortably established in the new home on Charles Street, with her servants and all her belongings, it must have been an inexpressible comfort both to her

and to her daughter, to be in close touch with one another during the difficult war years. The advantage of being so near to her grandchildren must have compensated for many a nostalgic yearning for her former home. The box-bordered brick path through Mary Washington's garden, behind her house, led straight to the river entrance of the Lewis home, a path which was frequently trodden in the days that followed. According to Mrs. Fleming: "Betty, from her pretty covered porch, could watch her mother coming up the walk to spend the day, the little colored maid in clean blue-checked gingham and a 'head handkercher' walking behind with the shawl and knitting in a basket and perhaps a 'snack' for the children."[4]

When tidings reached Fredericksburg that on the night of April 20 Governor Dunmore had ordered fifteen barrels of gunpowder to be secretly removed from the magazine in Williamsburg and transferred to the *Fowey*, a man-of-war lying in York River, the emotions of the people were deeply stirred. "The excitement was much increased by the news which arrived from Boston of the battle of Lexington, fought on April 19, the day before the removal of the powder."[5] According to Burk, "the indignation of the people was wrought up to a pitch bordering on madness, alarm ran like an electric shock through the . . . counties and each successively caught and communicated the flame."[6] An extra of the *Gazette* was excitedly read on the streets. Its closing words were: "The sword is now drawn, and God knows when it will be sheathed."[7]

It was not long before six hundred cavalry snatched their guns and hurried to Fredericksburg. In protest of the governor's procedure the men in that town were prompt

in action, with Fielding Lewis no doubt one of the leaders. A letter was addressed to Colonel George Washington expressing their indignation at Dunmore's Powder Plot, adding that "the gentlemen . . . of this town think this first public insult is not to be tamely submitted to, and determine, with your approbation to join any other bodies of armed men who are willing to appear in support of the honor of Virginia, as well as to secure the military stores yet remaining in the Magazine. It is proposed to march from hence on Saturday next for Williamsburg properly accoutred as light-horse men. Expresses are set off to inform the companies in the adjacent counties of this, our resolution. . . ."[8]

Mann Page, Jr., was sent to Williamsburg to see if the gunpowder had been replaced. He returned bringing a letter from Peyton Randolph, the Speaker, advising against any violent proceedings. "The same advice was given by Washington in a letter to James Mercer, with the result that after a long and animated discussion, the committee of 102 deputies appointed by the troops, consented by a majority of one only, not to go to Williamsburg."[9]

The *Virginia Gazette* recorded an account of "A Great Assemblage" held in Fredericksburg on Saturday the twenty-ninth of April of that year: "At a Council of one hundred and two members, delegates of the Provincial Convention, officers and special deputies of fourteen companies of light horse, consisting of upwards of six hundred well armed and disciplined men, friends of constitutional liberty and America, now rendezvoused here in consequence of an alarm occasioned by the powder being removed from the country magazine in the city of Williamsburg in the night of Thursday, the 21st instant, and deposited on board an armed

schooner by order of His Excellency the Governor; the Council having before them the several matters of intelligence respecting this transaction, and particularly a letter from the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., Speaker of the late House of Burgesses of Virginia . . . informing that the gentlemen of the city of Williamsburg and neighborhood have had full assurance from His Excellency that this affair shall be accommodated, and advising that the gentlemen assembled here should proceed no further at this time, this Council came to the following determination. . . . Highly condemning the conduct of the Governor on this occasion as impolitic, and justly alarming to the good people of this colony, tending to destroy all confidence in government, and to widen the breach between Great Britain and her colonies, ill-timed and totally unnecessary, consider this instance as a full proof that no opinion which may be formed of the good intentions of a Governor in private life, can afford security to our injured and oppressed country, but that obedience to arbitrary, ministerial mandate, and the most oppressive and tyrannical system of government, must be the fatal line of conduct to all His Majesty's present servants in America. At the same time, justly dreading the horrors of a civil war, influenced by motives of the strongest affection to our fellow subjects in Britain, most ardently wishing to heal our mutual wounds, and therefore preferring peaceable measures while the least hope of reconciliation remains, do advise that the several companies rendezvoused here do return to their respective homes. But considering the just rights and Liberty to America to be greatly endangered by the violent and hostile proceedings of an arbitrary Ministry, and being firmly resolved to resist such attempts at

the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes, do now pledge ourselves to each other to be in readiness at a moment's warning, to re-assemble, and, by force of arms to defend the laws, the liberty, and rights of this, or any sister colony, from unjust and wicked invasion.

"It was ordered that expresses be dispatched to the troops assembled at Bowling Green, and also to the companies from Frederick, Berkeley, and Dunmore counties, and such other counties as are now on the march, to return them thanks for their cheerful offers of service, and to acquaint them with the determination now taken.

GOD SAVE THE LIBERTIES OF AMERICA

"The foregoing determination having been read at the head of each company, was cordially and unanimously approved."[10]

There is not the least doubt that Fielding Lewis was present at this council meeting. In truth, tradition states that it was in his own home he wrote the document which was approved by all the assembled companies. Burk observes, "Mr. Peyton Randolph, late Speaker of the House of Burgesses, setting out for the congress in Philadelphia, arrived in Caroline county at the house of Edmund Pendleton one of his colleagues . . . these gentlemen transmitted to the Fredericksburg meeting their solemn advice to abstain somewhat longer . . . till the legislature of the union should decide on a plan of general and effective resistance."[11]

Rumors came thick and fast to Fredericksburg; there was much talk of taxes and troublous times and people began to feel uneasy. Writing in his journal at that period, Philip Fithian stated, "the reigning spirit in Virginia is liberty, and the universal topic politicks."[12]

On Tuesday May 9, 1775, the committee for the county of Spotsylvania held a meeting in the Town House of Fredericksburg. Twenty-six members were present with Fielding Lewis, Esquire, in the chair. It is recorded that "the committee, having before them a copy of the proceedings of Captain Patrick Henry and other gentlemen officers and volunteers under his command concerning the powder taken from the country Magazine, cordially approve of the same, and unanimously vote them our thanks for the prudent firm and spirited conduct on that occasion." They "resolved unanimously, that the easy acquisition of the powder from the country Magazine in the city of Williamsburg by order of His Excellency the Governor, and the convenient situation of that city with respect to the navy, render it unsafe to continue the Public Treasury at that place, and it is the opinion of this committee, that the same ought to be removed to a place of a greater safety. Resolved that the Chairman, with Charles Dick, James Mercer, Charles Mortimer, and George Thornton, Gentlemen, do write to the Treasurer, requesting him to call a convention of the Delegates for the colony as soon as possible."[13]

It was a proud day for the Lewis household, and indeed for all of Fredericksburg, when news was brought down from Philadelphia that on June 15 George Washington had been appointed commander-in-chief of the American army by the Continental Congress. Fielding and George Lewis must have been immediately eager to be up and away to join their uncle. They were no doubt among the young men of Fredericksburg who had been daily drilling in the companies forming in the community. Their mother and grandmother

probably knitted with all haste in order to have warm socks and gloves in readiness for the time of their departure.

When the third Virginia Convention met in Richmond on Monday, the seventeenth of July 1775, it was confronted with "the necessity of raising troops and preparing for war."[14] In a letter from George Mason, who was one of the delegates to the convention, written to Martin Cockburn from Richmond on July 25, 1775, he describes the work of the committee, of which he was a member, who "meet every morning at seven o'clock, sit till the Convention meets, which seldom rises before five in the afternoon, and immediately after dinner and a little refreshment, sits again till nine or ten at night. . . . This will not be wondered at when the extent and importance of the business before us is reflected upon—to raise forces for immediate service, to new model the whole militia . . . to provide arms, ammunition &c, and to point out ways and means for raising money, these are difficulties indeed!"[15]

One of the important measures adopted by ordinance of the convention "held at Richmond Town . . . at this time of imminent danger" was that "A manufactory of arms be erected at or near Fredericksburg under the direction of certain commissioners, and that a sufficient number of artificers be employed in manufacturing of arms of such kind as shall be directed from time to time by the Committee of Safety, and to continue the work so long as the necessities of this colony shall require." An initial appropriation of twenty-five hundred pounds (a sum having at that time the purchasing value of about fifteen to twenty thousand dollars of present-day currency) was ordered to be advanced out

of the public treasury, and such other sums as the Committee of Safety should from time to time direct, accounted for to the General Convention. "Fielding Lewis, Charles Dick, Mann Page, Jr., William Fitzhugh and Samuel Selden, Esquires, or any three of them," were chosen to act as commissioners for building and managing the factory. They were directed to transmit to the Committee of Safety from time to time "an account of the state and progress of the manufactory."[16]

The names of William Fitzhugh and Samuel Selden do not appear in any of the reports from the commissioners of the first government-owned factory in Virginia, and only once does the name of Mann Page, Jr., occur as having received pay for services in that connection.[17] In a report for the executive made by Charles Dick in 1781, he referred to his and Colonel Lewis's connection with the work as though they had accomplished the entire undertaking. It is clear that these two men were the master spirits, and that Lewis was the chief commissioner.

It is probable the convention had good reasons for selecting Fredericksburg as the seat of the enterprise. Not only did both Lewis and Dick have reputations for practical ability, "it is possible that the town offered other advantages. The port of Fredericksburg situated on the Rappahannock river at the edge of Tidewater, drew pig iron down the Chesapeake Bay from the contiguous colony of Maryland where the iron industry now flourished. Hunter's Iron Works . . . were . . . but a short distance from the town. Therefore they might be expected to assist in furnishing materials. But further still, Fredericksburg lay in a section where the Spotswood furnaces had flourished for nearly half a cen-

tury."[18] Burnaby, writing of Governor Spotswood's iron mines at Germanna, states: ". . . out of which they smelt annually above six hundred ton."[19]

Colonel Fielding Lewis was fifty years old at the beginning of the war of the Revolution. There is no official record of his ever having been in the field service of the continental line. Yet the public services which he performed when filling positions of trust as chief commissioner of the gun factory, superintending the building of and outfitting vessels for the navy, supplying saltpeter, sulphur, powder, lead, salt, flour, bacon, clothes, and providing for the sick and wounded soldiers during the war, were of vital importance. In truth these services may have been of far greater importance for the conduct of the war than if he had actually fought on the field of battle. A man of remarkable energy, industry, and loyalty, the years which Lewis had spent in Williamsburg, associated closely with the leaders of the day, had acquainted him with the affairs of Virginia and the other colonies. His business experience had given him useful knowledge in dealing with men. Altogether he was admirably equipped for the responsibilities laid upon him at the hour of his country's need.

Apparently Lewis and Dick immediately set to work with a mighty will, faced with the problems of constructing the buildings and of administering the affairs of the factory. From the first Colonel Lewis was the soul of the enterprise, and he bent every effort toward the success of this work. Very soon after the ordinance was passed, the commissioners purchased from Richard Brooke a tract of land[20] on the outskirts of the town of Fredericksburg, and upon this land were erected the necessary buildings. From Mr. Dick's re-

port to the chief executive, we learn that the establishment of the factory was accomplished during the first year, "after much trouble and attention," and that they succeeded in putting it "on an extraordinary good footing."[21] The commissioners leased an old millhouse on Hazel Run from the widow of Roger Dixon for the use of the factory, and it was converted and equipped for the purpose of grinding new gun barrels, files, bayonets, and ramrods, thereby saving much manual labor. It was the intention of the commissioners to have a master workman always resident whose duty it was to examine and to receive the work, to issue tools and provisions, and to look after everything. "They made a contract for a stone magazine to be erected close to the factory."[22]

It is apparent that the gentlemen directors organized their work ever mindful to the economy of the state. In a communication in 1782 addressed to Colonel Davies, Mr. Dick outlined the system on which the factory was run: "When breakfast and dinner are ready the bell rings and all regularly sit down at table and eat, when done, to work again so that no time is lost, when absent they [the men] are duly charged with lost time. There is a spacious garden which supplies necessary greens and roots and a noble spring for water. By above method order and government with sundry rules too tedious to mention, and the greatest economy, the factory has been carried on to this day to great advantage to the State."[23] From the concluding words, "has been carried on to this day," one feels justified in assuming that this had been the system from the beginning of the work.

It is recorded that the commissioners "appointed by the Convention for superintending the Manufactory of Small

Arms at Fredericksburg" held a meeting on Monday the 13th of September 1775. "The commissioners intend to meet on the 10th day of Nov. next at Fredericksburg for the purpose of engaging a further number of gunsmiths and other artists capable of managing that business in its various branches. All people who are willing to enter into the service for a year at least, and can come well recommended for skill and sobriety are desired to attend . . . if agreed with, they will have good encouragement according to their merit, and at all events be paid for their attendance and travelling. Good locksmiths are much wanting." This was signed by "The Commissioners."[24]

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the desperate need for arms and ammunition at this period of the Revolution. Washington's own anxiety over the deficiency of powder was very great: "Powder is so much needed that nothing without it can be done," he wrote Joseph Reed from Cambridge on November 28, 1775,[25] and again, to the same gentleman one month later, "our want of powder is inconceivable."[26] Referring to the wants of the army in a letter to Major General Richard Montgomery on January 12, Washington wrote: "After powder, the principal deficiency is that of arms . . . arms we are exceedingly in want of."[27] And writing to John Hancock, President of Congress, on February 9, 1776, from Cambridge of "our ability to resist," Washington declared: "How far we shall be provided with the means is a matter I profess not to know, under my present unhappy want of arms. . . . I have tried every method I can think of to procure arms for our men, they are really not to be had in these governments (belonging to the public), and if some method is not fallen upon in the Southern gov-

ernments to supply us, we shall be in a distressed situation for want of them."[28] And yet again, he wrote to the Council of Massachusetts Bay from Morristown, 28 February 1777: ". . . Nothing distresses me more, than the universal call that is upon me from all quarters for fire arms, which I am totally unable to supply."[29]

While the establishment of the gun factory was in progress, Lewis was called upon for further public services of essential significance. A letter from Thomas Jefferson to Colonel Lewis, dated Philadelphia, June 16, 1775, shows the urgent need for arms and ammunition:

"We were informed a few weeks ago that five thousand pounds of lead imported on account of our colonies were landed in Fredericksburgh. There appears scarcely a possibility it should be wanting in Virginia, more especially when we consider the supplies which may be expected from the mines of that colony. The flying-camp now forming in the Jerseys, and which will be immediately in the face of a powerful enemy, is likely to be in great need of that article. Did their wants admit of a delay of an application to the Governor we should have applied to him, and have not a doubt he would have ordered it hither. But circumstances are too pressing and we are assured we should insure the censures of our country were we to permit the public cause to suffer essentially while the means of preventing it (though not under our immediate charge) are within our reach. We, therefore, take the liberty of desiring you to stop so many of the powder wagons now on their way to Williamsburg as may be necessary, and return them immediately with this lead, and whatever more you can collect, sending the powder on by other wagons. But should the other lead have been

sent to Williamsburg, the wagons may then proceed on their journey, and the governor, to whom we have written, will take care of the matter."[30]

The Continental Congress was early confronted with the scarcity of powder, and took under their consideration the need for procuring and making it. Saltpeter was greatly needed for the manufacture of domestic gunpowder. A committee of the Congress, appointed to consider ways and means of promoting the manufacture of saltpeter, reported on the tenth of November 1775 "that skillful persons sent to Virginia, and employed there in a public saltpetre work under the direction of gentlemen who will superintend it, may with sufficient assistance produce a considerable quantity of that article." A group of ten gentlemen were empowered by the Congress to concur with the proprietors of public warehouses and of other places impregnated with niter. Among the proprietors mentioned, to be called upon in various counties, were Mann Page, Edmund Pendleton, William Fitzhugh, Fielding Lewis, Esquires, in the counties of Caroline and Spotsylvania; Thomas Ludwell Lee, Henry Lee, George Mason in the colony of Virginia, "to purchase for the use of the United Colonies all the Saltpetre which may within twelve calendar months, be produced from the floors and yards of the warehouses impregnated with nitre . . . the Congress . . . will pay all expenses . . . incurred by the gentlemen desired to superintend the operation, on whose zeal, influence, and abilities to produce . . . a quantity of this article so necessary for the defence of their country, and thereby render it a very important service and by their example and activity to forward and encourage this useful work, the Congress rely with confidence."[31]

Colonel Lewis owned a large brick warehouse[32] on the Rappahannock River below the town of Fredericksburg, and we may safely assume that he became actively engaged, in the months that followed, in procuring the saltpeter and sulphur so necessary for the making of powder.

The *Virginia Gazette* printed a reassuring notice: "We can assure the public . . . that sixty tons of saltpetre have been imported at Philadelphia, so that we have nothing to do now but to fight and be free!"[33]

In the list of members of the Committee of Safety of Spotsylvania County, chosen by direction of the Ordinance of Convention on November 17, 1775, by an assembly of freeholders meeting in Fredericksburg, we find the town was represented by Fielding Lewis, Charles Washington, George Thornton, and Hugh Mercer.[34] The men whom they selected represented the wealth, the intelligence, and the culture of the community. Seldom have men entrusted with such extensive authority fulfilled their trust with greater fidelity. At this same period Colonel Lewis's eldest brother, Warner Lewis, was made a member of the Committee of Safety of Gloucester County.[35]

"In all our history there has been nothing else like these committees. Born of necessity, originating in the political and economic confusion of the time, they touched the lives of the people in their most intimate affairs, and gradually extended their jurisdiction until they assumed to themselves all the functions of government. . . . They raised money by fines and assessments for the purchase of gunpowder . . . and all the implements of war. The militia had to be drilled. In short a revolution had to be inaugurated, and it fell to these committees to do it."[36]

Evidently the gun factory was completed either in the latter part of the year 1775 or early in 1776. The *Virginia Gazette* published an advertisement from Fredericksburg:

> The Commissioners of the Gun Factory want a considerable quantity of Brass (for mountings). Any old brass (not mixed with bell metal) will do. Mr. Robert Nicholas of Williamsburg will receive and pay for, any quantity that may be delivered there, and the commissioners beg the attention of other gentlemen of this article. The cash will be paid on notice by
>
> *The Commissioners*[37]

In a letter written by Colonel Lewis to General Washington from Fredericksburg on February 4, 1776, we learn of the operation of the gun factory: "Your favor of the 25th of December I have received, with one from George, by Mr. Matthews. I approve much of your caution in bestowing commissions, more especially on a relation. I hope George may be serviceable to you in some other way, as you must have occasion for some person to do some little things, that you can confide in. George writes me that he will have occasion for some necessary articles. Anything he may want, please to furnish, and your Order for the amount will be paid on sight.

"We are making preparations to receive the enemy should any appear in the spring. On the whole we have, and are raising nine regiments which are expected to be ready by the last of March. Our Convention has at last appointed some of your old officers to the command of the regiments, viz

1st Regiment	*Col. Patrick Henry*	*Capt. Christian*	*Maj. Alex Spotswood*
2nd "	*Col. William Woodford*	*Capt. Scott*	*Maj. Marshall*

3rd	"	*Col. Hugh Mercer*	*Capt. Jo Weedon*	*Maj. Hendricks*
4th	"	*Col. Mor Buckner*	*Capt. Wm Elliot*	*Maj. McClanahan*
5th	"	*Col. Wm. Dangerfield*	*Capt. Geo. Matthews*	
6th	"	*Col. A Stephens*	*Capt. Fleming*	
7th	"	*Col. Wm Peachy*		
8th	"	*Eastern Shore*		
9th	"	*Germanna Regt German Officers*		

(note, I do not recollect the other officers, nor have I placed them according to seniority). One company of artillery.

The Minute Men are continued, but expect they will never be complete as the regiments may be recruited out of the Minute Men. We are also preparing a Naval Force, two row galleys, one to carry an eighteen pounder and the other a twelve pounder, Mann Page Esq. and I are to build immediately at this place, and I expect other vessels are preparing in the different parts of the country.

"Many attempts are being made to procure powder from abroad, and numbers are now making saltpetre, which succeeds beyond expectation. My son John brings this as far as Philadelphia, where he is procuring persons to build a powder mill, and a powder-maker. Sulphur we have an abundance of.

"I expected the Parliament would have repealed the American oppressive Acts as persevering must, I think, ruin England, which I hoped they would be sensible of, and had it have been so we should have had peace by the month of March, which I mentioned to you.

"We have just heard that our ships of war are arrived from Philadelphia, and that an engagement must have happened before this. We are impatiently expecting some account of the matter. God send us success, and that our most inveterate enemy Dunmore, may be among the first slain!

"Our little manufactory improves daily. I expect by the last of March we shall be able to make ten muskets complete, per day. We have been mostly employed in repairing old guns since we began, and have only one lock-maker, who has instructed many others who begin to be very expert. We now make thirty five per week, and increasing. Most of the locks which Lord Dunmore stole away from the muskets in the Magazine are now replaced by our workmen. I propose making a rifle next week, to carry a quarter of a pound ball. If it answers my expectation, a few of them will keep off ships of war from our narrow rivers, and be useful in the beginning of an engagement by land.

". . . No money is paid among us, only by those who have been able to supply provisions to the Country. I have got clear of some of my flour that way, and am sending a venture to procure some powder and arms.

"We have been much dejected here at the misfortune of losing General Montgomery and our [words defaced] Quebec. Yet are hopeful that our army will yet get the place before Carlton can receive any assistance.

"I wish you success, health and happiness, and am dear Sir, with respects to Mrs. Washington, Mr. and Mistress Custis, Your most affectionate, humble servant, etc."[38]

As his letters to Washington and his reports to the Committee of Safety show, Lewis spent the ensuing months not only in superintending the work of the gun factory but in

carrying out details of military and naval preparation in Fredericksburg and on the Rappahannock.

Undoubtedly Fredericksburg had its full share of the troubles of the country. The town lay in a strategic position, in direct line of communications between the north and the south. With the coming of the gun factory and the formation of companies of troops, the peaceful atmosphere of Fredericksburg quickly changed to a militaristic aspect. Recruits drilled in the streets; supplies were received and stored; couriers from other parts of the country dashed in to acquaint the eager townspeople with events.

On the twenty-ninth of February 1776 the Assembly directed Colonel Fielding Lewis "to purchase Captain Lurty's vessel for the public use, to be employed as one of the cruisers on the Rappahannock river."[39] And during the same month a certain John Craig was ordered to deliver to Colonel Lewis on order, "what pork or beef he may want for vessels employed in the public service, and the workmen employed in building them."[40]

The accounts of the Virginia Committee of Safety in the year 1776 show that Lewis disbursed the sum of £5156, 15s., 3½d. "in purchasing and lading a vessel on the public account to be sent to foreign islands as adventurers for the importation of arms and ammunition (the French West Indies—Martinique). For the Marine Service, etc."[41]

On the second of March of the same year the Virginia Assembly ordered "that one ton of powder to be sent from Philadelphia to this place, and that Colo Fielding Lewis is desired to procure proper wagons and an escort for the removal of it. . . ." A letter written to Lewis by John Dalton, prominent merchant of Alexandria, Virginia, from that city

on March 29, 1776, probably refers to the "proper wagons," which Lewis had been commissioned to secure for the delivery of the powder:

"Collo Fielding Lewis, by favor of Collo Mercer, Fredericksburgh, Sir, I could not persuade the wagoner, W. Stoneburner, to cross Powtomack, and discharged him at Georgetown, sent the powder by water and got it here very safe.

"This day sent thirty two casks by a return wagon going to Dumfries in the pay of the country, as directed, the delivery of it to Capt. Leitch, the commanding officer there, to be forwarded to you. I mentioned to you by last Post, that four ton was intended for your care, only four wagons came from Philadelphia, and had each, one ton. . . . Each cask weighs gross, 60 lbs. 152 casks Wm Stoneburner told me, was intended, though these came to 153, and 38 casks to the ton was the complement.

"In order to save you expense, Collo Mercer proposes to keep half a ton, which he must have drawn from you, therefore intends forwarding to you two and a half tons, as below. When you have received it, will you please send me a receipt, . . . Respectfully yours,

153 Casks you sent for
19 for Collo Mercer
——
134
95 Ton to be forwarded you
——
39 Intended for the Marine Service on Powtowmack."[42]

A second letter from John Dalton to Colonel Lewis is dated April 1, 1776: "Sir, The powder has been longer kept

here than I expected, at last has got the wagons to bring it down,

32 Casks was sent before
32
now sent
31
19 kept for Collo Mercer
——
114 equal to three Tons

"I agreed to give these wagons fifteen shillings a day, and allow two days returning, which you will please settle. . . . I have no money from the Committee of Safety, so please discharge the wagons."[43]

In a letter to Washington from Gunston Hall, dated April 2, 1776, George Mason wrote as follows: "Maryland and Virginia are at present rather unprepared, but their strength is daily increasing. The late levies here have been made with surprising rapidity, the seven new regiments are already in a manner complete, except as to arms in which they are very deficient, but arms are coming in . . . and a very considerable manufactory is established at Fredericksburg. . . . I have, in conjunction with Mr. John Dalton, the charge of providing and equipping armed vessels for the protection of this river [Potomac], I am . . . obliged to the Board for joining Mr. Dalton with me. He is a steady, diligent man, and without his association I could not have undertaken it."[44]

The large sums of money from the public funds which were entrusted to Lewis in this time of crisis indicate the confidence which was placed in him by the Revolutionary leaders. A warrant for two hundred pounds was issued by

the Virginia Assembly on March 5, 1776, to Lewis "upon account, for the purchase of arms."[45] A week later there was an order upon Lewis "to Thomas Cooke for two hundred pounds of powder for West Augusta [County]."[46] And two days later the assembly appointed Richard Taylor of Caroline County "captain of the armed vessel fitted out by Col. Fielding Lewis." Taylor was requested to recommend to the committee ". . . proper persons to be first and second mates, a boatswain, two midshipmen, two gunners, with fourteen able-bodied seamen to serve on board the vessel."[47]

According to Burk, historian of Virginia, "the want of salt was another grievance felt throughout Virginia with peculiar severity, as the colonists and their slaves chiefly lived upon salted provisions."[48] Colonel Lewis was directed by the Virginia Committee of Safety on March 27, 1776, to distribute four thousand bushels of "the salt sent from Philadelphia" among twelve Virginia counties;[49] according to the number of their militia:

King and Queen County	600	militia,	to	receive	300 bushels
Essex County	550	"	"	"	275 bushels
Caroline County	800	"	"	"	400 bushels
Spotsylvania County	600	"	"	"	300 bushels
King George County	450	"	"	"	225 bushels
Richmond County	300	"	"	"	150 bushels
Orange County	600	"	"	"	300 bushels
Culpeper County	1200	"	"	"	600 bushels
Fauquier County	1100	"	"	"	550 bushels
Dunmore County	1050	"	"	"	525 bushels
Stafford County	500	"	"	"	250 bushels
Middlesex County	200	"	"	"	125 bushels

The following letter, written by Colonel Lewis April 2, 1776, was addressed "to the Chairman of the Committee of Dunmore County, with militia numbering 1,050. Sir,



Betty Lewis's room, showing the bed she originally used

The Nursery





Mrs. Mary Washington's room

There is one hundred and seventy four bushels of salt lodged here by the Committee of Safety for the use of your county, and should what I expect arrive safe, there will be about two hundred and sixty bushels more. Please to send for what is now here, and the money for it. The price is five shillings and three pence per bushel."[50]

In a letter from the Eastern Shore, November 27, 1777, Adam Craig wrote to James Hunter, Esquire, of Fredericksburg: "Sir, According to Col. William Aylett's direction I have sent to the care of Colo Fielding Lewis 650 bushels of salt, fifty bushels of which . . . you are to have. You will therefore apply to him for that quantity."[51]

From a letter to General Washington written by Fielding Lewis from Fredericksburg March 6, 1776, we learn of the state of affairs in the colony, as well as the progress of the gun manufactory: ". . . Our nine regiments are nearly complete and our people seem to be fond of entering into the service. Colonel Henry has resigned his commission, which I believe most people are well pleased with, as his acquaintance in the military service was little. Clinton has been here with his men, stayed a few days and is gone, it is said, to South Carolina and taken some of the King's Ships that were here, with him.

"We expect Lord Dunmore is recalled, as he has offered his service and requested to be sent home as a mediator. Our Committee of Safety are too well acquainted with His Lordship's ability and friendship for this colony to entrust a matter of so much importance to his insignificancy. Nor would they, were his ability ever so good, take a step of that sort without the sanction of Congress.

"Norfolk is totally destroyed, not one house remaining. Gosport, Mr. Sprowl's seat, has shared the same fate. We have men at the great bridge of Kemp's Landing, little for them to do.

"The opinion for independency seems to be gaining ground, indeed, most of those who have read the pamphlet *Common Sense*,[52] say it is unanswerable.

"Our manufactory has not yet made one musket. The hands have been employed in repairing the old guns from the Magazine which Lord Dunmore took the locks from, and repairing the guns belonging to the several Companies that have passed through this town. We have a great many gun barrels ready forged, which we are now preparing for the stackers, our men who had the business to learn, begin to be expert at lock-making. About thirty per week of which we now make, that are equal to the English, and what barrels are ready, I think are better.

"The Tory factors are leaving us daily, few will remain in a month or two. Mrs. Lewis joins me in love to Mrs. Washington and the family. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate, Humble Servant."[53]

On the first of April 1776 the Virginia Assembly ordered "that our delegates in Congress be desired to send over ten ton of salt petre to Mr. Fielding Lewis in Fredericksburg, to be manufactured into gunpowder."[54] Since Lewis had written Washington two months earlier that saltpeter was succeeding beyond his expectation, and that his son John was making efforts in Philadelphia to procure persons to build a powder mill, we may assume the mill was proving successful. Upon that same date James Mercer was authorized to pay Mann Page and Fielding Lewis, Esquires, two

hundred and fifty pounds each, upon account for use of the gun factory, and necessaries for the vessels being built in the Rappahannock.[55]

At the same time the Virginia Committee of Safety ordered that a letter be written to Mr. Meriwether Smith to know if a certain vessel was appraised and fitting, "but if she is not being fitted . . . that Mann Page and Fielding Lewis Esquires be desired to purchase a proper vessel to be employed as 2nd Cruiser in Rappahannock and proceed to have her fitted up. . . . Colo Lewis and Mr. Page are desired to send to Fort Cumberland for any cannon there belonging to the colony, also for one at Col. Cresops, and empowered to purchase any other necessaries which may be wanting for the vessels in the Rappahannock river."[56]

Later the Committee of Safety sent a communication to General Lee in a letter from Williamsburg dated April 10, 1776: "The committee have purchased clothing and necessaries to a very considerable amount and stored them under the direction of proper persons as commissaries of stores at both this place and Fredericksburg, at the head of the Rappahannock river—a place through which all stores from the northward must come, central with respect to our back country, and most convenient for supplying the two regiments in the Northern Neck, and one on the south side of the Rappahannock. Out of these stores the whole 8 battalions have been furnished with clothing and necessaries."[57]

The Committee of Safety appointed James Hunter, Jr., to have charge of the public stores in Fredericksburg "upon giving bond in sufficient security to be approved by Colo Lewis and Mr. Dick in penalty of £10,000 for his faithful discharge of same."[58]

There is no doubt that the commissioners of the gun factory experienced difficulties. A warrant for thirty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, sixpence was issued by the Virginia Assembly on April 30, 1776, to Captain James Grier, which was the value "of sundry clothes belonging to his company, burnt at Fredericksburg by order of Col. Fielding Lewis and Chas. Dick, Esqrs., to prevent the spreading of small pox with which it was supposed [the clothes] were infected."[59]

Pressed with demands for providing arms, ammunition, and vessels for the army and navy, Lewis was confronted also with the responsibility of looking after the sick and wounded soldiers. The Virginia Committee of Safety, finding that "many of the soldiers, marines and seamen are frequently passing through Fredericksburg and are . . . taken sick there," decided that Dr. Julian be engaged, and ordered the establishment of a hospital "in that place."[60] At that time the council authorized Colonel Lewis to pay Dr. John Julian seventy pounds, fifteen shillings, "for his attendance and medicines for sundry sick soldiers, marines and sailors at Fredericksburg, and a coffin." And again, Lewis was authorized to pay James Kerr "for nursing and providing for sick soldiers in Captain Westfall's Company, 8th Regiment."[61]

Lewis was evidently a sound judge of sailing vessels and his long experience in shipping on the Rappahannock must have proved invaluable at this period. The Committee of Safety authorized the payment of three hundred pounds on May 3, 1776, to Sir John Peyton, "Col. Lewis's order for a pilot boat purchased for the use of the colony."[62] Lewis himself received from the same source upon that date a

warrant for five hundred pounds "for the use of the commissioners of the gun factory, and four hundred pounds for the outfit of sundry vessels,"[63] and yet another warrant of £1059/17s./11d., "balance for his account for the sloop Patsey, the schooner Hannah, and the pilot boat, and their cargoes adventurers for the importation of arms and ammunition."[64]

Edmund Pendleton, Esq., chairman of the Virginia Committee of Safety, wrote to Lewis at this critical period, requesting him "to forward to this city [Williamsburg] 4000 lbs weight of the powder, the whole of the ball, and one half of the sheet lead imported by Captain Callendar . . . that the powder belonging to the United Colonies must remain in Fredericksburg under guard 'til Congress shall give direction about it, and that the vessel be retained for the use of the colony and employed as a Tender, or on a voyage similar to the late successful one."[65]

On the fourth of May the assembly had ordered that Colonel Aylett or his agent at Hobbs Hole deliver to the order of Colonel Fielding Lewis forty bolts of duck lodged there for the use of the public.[66]

With many things becoming increasingly difficult to procure, Lewis's resources must have been considerably taxed to find and supply the necessary articles for which he was called upon. John Dalton sent a letter to Lewis from Alexandria, dated July 16, 1776, "As I wrote you yesterday, I should send a man by horse for what sail duck he could bring, which I imagine will be four pieces. The bearer . . . comes, who you will be kind enough to dispatch by intelligence. Last night the Enemy were below Vaged Point. . . ."[67]

Doubtless the tremendous news of the signing of the

Declaration of Independence by members of Congress on the fourth of July in Philadelphia had traveled quickly southward by post or express, and the universal rejoicing had been echoed in Fredericksburg.

A letter was written to Colonel Fielding Lewis from Philadelphia, July 16, 1776, by John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress: "Sir, The article of lead is so essentially necessary for our Army at this juncture, that the Council of Safety of this colony have recommended to the inhabitants to spare the lead weights to their windows, and the lead from their houses by which means they have been furnished with a considerable quantity, which has been run into a ball, and part of which is now on the way to the Jerseys. But, as under the present exigency, that quantity is far short of what is wanted for the army in the Jerseys, and every method should be taken to collect it, I am therefore directed to request you will send by the wagons which are now on their way to your colony with powder, all the lead you can possibly procure at Fredericksburgh. The state of our affairs will not admit of the least delay, and I am convinced there is no necessity for arguments to induce you to an immediate compliance with this requisition."[68]

Apparently the inhabitants of Fredericksburg responded to the appeal which Lewis appears to have made. In a letter from Charles Dick to Colonel George Muter, written some years later, deploring the want of lead to prove gun barrels in the factory, he states: "There is no lead to be bought . . . the leads of our windows and shop weights are already gone."[69]

The work at the gun factory was apparently proceeding with ever-increasing improvement, despite constant difficul-

ties. In July 1776 the council ordered that the muskets in the magazine "which are not fit for use and cannot be immediately repaired in this city [Williamsburg], be sent up to the manufactory at Fredericksburg to be put in the best order with all possible dispatch and sent down by the first opportunity, or delivered out according to the order of this Board." On August 10 the same body gave order that Colonel George Weedon of the 3rd Battalion might be permitted to apply to the commissioners of the gun factory at Fredericksburg ". . . for such arms as they may have already finished for the public."[70]

The manufactory must have been producing a goodly supply of arms by November of the momentous year of 1776, for in that month the commissioners of the gun factory were ordered by the council "to furnish two Troops of Horse with carbines two feet ten inches long, and as near one bore as possible," and "to provide these arms without delay."[71]

Needs for the Continental Army of almost every description arose at this period. On December 16, 1776, George Washington wrote from "Headquarters near Trenton" to Colonel Joseph Trumbull, commissioner general of provisions, as follows:

"I approve of your plan of sending to Virginia for flour. . . . I have enclosed you a list of such persons in Virginia as I think will be most likely to supply you with flour on good terms. . . . Colo Fielding Lewis on Rappahannock" [included on the list were names of three other gentlemen living on Virginia rivers].[72]

During the year 1777 Colonel Lewis and Charles Dick continued their supervision of the work at the gun factory

with unflagging industry. At the same time Lewis's services were constantly demanded for furnishing supplies for the Revolutionary forces. The council, in session in Williamsburg, passed a resolution "that Sir John Peyton be requested to receive the soldiers clothing and other articles now on board the schooner 'Captain Wm Jones,' from Martinico, belonging to the United States, and send them in the safest and most expeditious manner, avoiding the enemy, to Fielding Lewis, Esq. at Fredericksburg, for the use of the Continental Troops."[73]

When, on June 7, 1777, the Council decreed that a Magazine should be built at or near Fredericksburg, of the same dimensions as the one in Williamsburg, the plan prepared for it was sent to Colonel Fielding Lewis, and it was ordered "on the recommendation of Colonel Lewis, that Charles Washington be appointed keeper of the Magazine."[74]

At a meeting of the Council the lieutenant governor was advised "to order 2000 pounds of lead to be conveyed from Williamsburg to Fredericksburg To be lodged in the hands of Colonel Fielding Lewis for use of the militia there."[75]

Undoubtedly Colonel Lewis assisted and co-operated with his eldest son John Lewis in his work in manufacturing gunpowder. The board of the Council expressed to John Lewis their support "for his encouragement in so useful an undertaking," by agreeing to take from him "any quantity of that article for muskets, not exceeding ten thousand weight," at the rate of six shillings per pound, which he was directed to deliver at the public magazine in Spotsylvania County within a year (of April 1777).[76]

The Privy Council in Virginia was the Advisory Council to the governor, and was composed of leading men chosen

for their integrity and their ability. According to Eckenrode, "The executive council took up its task on July 22, 1776 . . . the council was the successor of the colonial council in administration. . . . Theoretically the council advised, actually it ruled through the Revolutionary period."[77] At a meeting of the General Assembly in Williamsburg on Friday, October 11, 1777, during the administration of Governor Patrick Henry, the House of Delegates appointed by ballot Fielding Lewis, Esq., "a member of the Privy Council of this State."[78] Ten days later another ballot was taken by the House to appoint a privy councilor "in the room of Fielding Lewis Esq., who hath declined the said appointment."[79] Nothing can better demonstrate Lewis's devotion to duty than his declining the high honor conferred upon him to serve as a member of the Privy Council. Having assumed the responsibility for a share in equipping the Continental Army with arms and ammunition at this crisis, it is apparent that he would not shirk this important mission.

An interesting document deposited in the museum at Kenmore by descendants of Colonel and Mrs. Lewis shows a financial account in Fielding Lewis's own handwriting and bearing his signature. It records clearly the amounts which the commissioners received for the work of the gun factory, and for their own services, over a period of one year; also the amounts disbursed by Lewis in his work for the navy:

5th Dec. 1777. Received five thousand pounds account of the Gun Manufactory at Fredericksburg. Gov. Warrant.

Also three hundred and sixty five pounds for self and Charles Dick, allowed us for superintending the same work to 18th November last.

Also two thousand pounds to furnish necessaries for the ship Dragon. Warrant Navy Board.

Also one thousand six hundred and eighty five pounds 17/5, the balance of my account of disbursments to this day for several vessels of war built at Fredericksburg. C.C.

Fielding Lewis

£5000
365
2000
1685 . . . 17/5
———————
£9050 . . . 17/5.

In a letter of May 27, 1778, to Archibald Cary, Esquire, Colonel Lewis expressed his hopes in regard to the state of affairs: "I received your letter by Express and agreeable to your request employed a rider to carry Mr. James Walker's letter to his house. The express informs me that Mr. Walker was gone to Williamsburg before he got there. I therefore put his letter into the post office for Williamsburg where I expect he will receive it. The rider charges five pounds for going to his house.

"I am in hopes the affairs of England are in such condition that they will not be able to keep so many of their light armed vessels on our coast as they have done lately. Indeed, I think their best policy will be declaring the American States independent, and beg for the preference of our trade, for without it they must be bankrupt. Nor will they ever be able to man their navy after losing the American trade."[80]

Fielding Lewis was one of the four commissioners appointed by the Virginia Assembly to meet with commissioners from other states to confer on matters recommended by the Continental Congress,[81] and later report their proceedings to the Virginia legislature.[82] When the commissioners met at Fredericksburg on the third day of March 1778, Field-

ing Lewis, Charles Dick, and James Mercer, Esquires, were present "for Virginia." And Jacob Blount and James Coor, Esquires, "for North Carolina." Fielding Lewis, Esquire, was elected chairman, and the commissioners proceeded to consider the subject matter recommended by the resolution of Congress "to regulate and ascertain the price of labour, manufactures, internal produce, and commodities imported from foreign parts (military stores excepted), and also to regulate the charges of innholders."[83]

The meeting in Fredericksburg is of especial interest, not so much for the reason of what was accomplished by the commissioners. It was important as a step toward a permanent union of the states. This meeting of the commissioners is one of the first instances of a group of states getting together for making plans toward concerted commercial action.

CHAPTER XII

The Women's Part

NEWS REPORTS from the army drifted slowly to Fredericksburg during the crucial war days. From the general talk it was the prevailing opinion that things were not encouraging but had reached an alarming state in the North. The end of the year 1776 brought times of terrible suspense as the tide of the struggle ebbed and flowed uncertainly.

From time to time dispatch riders arrived bringing reports of Washington's campaigns. Early in January the war was brought closely home to the people of Fredericksburg when tidings came of the battle of Princeton. It was in that battle that their honored fellow citizen, General Hugh Mercer, was mortally wounded while trying to rally his men. Details of the story have come to us from George Washington Parke Custis, who wrote: "Our authority is from . . . Major George Lewis, nephew of the Commander in Chief and Captain of his Guard. When Washington was in full march for Morristown he learned that General Mercer, though fearfully wounded was yet alive. Upon the first halt

at Somerset Court House Washington dispatched Major George Lewis with a flag and a letter to Lord Cornwallis requesting that every possible attention be shown to the wounded general, and permission that Lewis should remain with him to minister to his wants. . . . His Lordship yielded assent. He [Mercer] languished until the 12th and expired in the arms of young Lewis, admired and lamented by the entire army."[1]

Betty Lewis must have seen little of her husband during these days, so great were the demands made upon him by the Continental Congress, the Virginia Committee of Safety, and the General Assembly for sending supplies to the army and superintending operations at the gun factory. His hours were divided between the factory, the public stores, the magazine, and the court. Household duties were heavier than ever before. With many articles of food having become scarce, it was necessary for housekeepers to exercise all their ingenuity to keep their families well nourished. No doubt Mrs. Lewis felt obliged to keep a special stock in reserve, in order to be ready on short notice for important guests Colonel Lewis was likely to bring home with him. She never knew in advance at what hour Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, or other Revolutionary leaders might be expected to arrive. The winter of Valley Forge was a period of intense anxiety. Accounts of the hardships of the army filled every heart with dismay. Christmas passed without the usual gaiety on the part of the older members of the Lewis family, although they probably forced themselves to be cheerful for the sake of the children.

All reports of General Washington's campaigns were doubtless awaited with eager interest by the three youngest

Lewis boys. He was their hero, and Lawrence, Robert, and Howell must each have been impatient to become old enough to join the army.

No doubt Mary Washington and Betty Lewis were together more than ever before—drawn closer with thoughts of their sons in constant danger of the enemy. We may picture them with knitting needles ever flying in their nimble fingers. In all probability dozens of warm socks, gloves, mufflers, and stockings were knitted, with the aid of their handmaidens, and sent to the camp of the commander-in-chief, together with garments and provisions. Colonel and Mrs. Lewis frequently urged Mary Washington to come and live with them at Kenmore. We are told that this remarkable and independent lady, after thanking them, added, "my wants are few in this world and I feel perfectly competent to take care of myself."[2] When her son-in-law offered to help in superintending her affairs, she replied, "Do you, Fielding, keep my books in order for your eyesight is better than mine, but leave the executive management to me."[3]

Mrs. Washington often walked through the long box-bordered path between her home and the Lewises'. And many times she allowed herself to be persuaded to spend the night in the spare room at Kenmore, a room which is called Mrs. Mary Washington's room even to this day. Upon these occasions a fire would doubtless be lighted on the hearth on cool evenings, and the grandchildren vie with one another in looking after her comfort. After the children were asleep the mother and daughter must often have sat together, keeping watch far into the night, their hearts filled with anxieties and forebodings as they thought and talked of their sons far away and exposed to danger.

It was the custom of the two women to drive frequently over to Ferry Farm in Mary Washington's old-fashioned chaise, driven by old Stephen, in order to inspect the place and to give directions to the overseer. There was evidently livestock on the place, for records show that twenty-five pounds of bacon were furnished for the use of the continental troops "by Mrs. Mary Washington" in the year 1780, the year that her son-in-law Fielding Lewis furnished twenty pounds of the same article for the public service.[4]

In fine weather Mary Washington and her daughter often walked over toward the western part of the Lewis plantation which Lawrence Lewis graphically described in a letter to George Bassett (May 16, 1831) evidently inscribed at Woodlawn and mailed at Alexandria. Referring to the last resting place of his grandmother Mary Washington, he wrote: "It was a favorite spot, she frequently visited it with her only daughter and grandchildren. Nature has seldom formed one more beautiful, the approach to it a perfect level, although considerably elevated above the surrounding ground. The hill forms a perfect angle, from the point of which projects two large, shelving rocks, separated about two feet, and evidently from their corresponding sides, formed at some period, one mass.

"Seated upon this rock with those she most loved, she would point out the beauties of the place, the distant hills overlooking the town of Falmouth crowned with everlasting verdure by its tall cedars. The distant view of the river Rappahannock foaming over its rocky bed, whose . . . murmurs served but to heighten the delight of viewing the rocky summits above.

"It was upon this spot, rendered forever dear to my rec-

ollection, she impressed upon our infant minds the wonderful works of the Creator of all things. His goodness, His mercy to all who love and obey Him. This spot . . . recalls many delightful circumstances to my mind. On one occasion we were sheltered under the rocks from a violent storm, the high hills immediately in front concealed its rapid approach, and we were compelled to seek protection. . . ."[5]

A letter which has come down to us from young Betty Lewis, daughter of Colonel and Mrs. Lewis, addressed to her godmother, "Mrs. Hannah Washington[6] of Bushfield," gives a picture of the life at Kenmore at the time when it was written, probably in the year 1777, and shows a perception unusual in a girl of thirteen: "After thanking my Dear Aunt for her kind present of powder and cakes, I must let you know I esteem your offer of a correspondence a particular favor done me and shall keep it punctual . . . as I expect a number of advantages arise from so doing. Mama desires me to let you know that she thinks it out of her power to get down this winter, she has had a sick [servant] since you left us and several down now, but hopes in no danger.

"Mr. Dick has lost several of his negroes since you were here, and Mrs. Taliaferro has lost four. We hear that the negroes on the river are going on board the enemy's ships in the Potomac very fast. I hope my uncle George Washington will take care of his, or some of them may go also. We have no news from the northward, except that General Howe is gone from Philadelphia towards General Washington and some expect there will be a battle between them.

"I have sent the pattern of the gown whim which is for married ladies, the young ladies wear them without a plait like

a sultan. There is only the fore part of a jacket, and that fixed as you see, which confines the gown to the waist.

"I wish you the compliments of the approaching season, my love to you and uncle, with the rest of the family, concludes me your ever loving niece, Betty Lewis.

"P.S. Give my love to Cousin Billy and Cousin Jenny, Cousin Milly. B.L."[7]

Mrs. Lewis had cause for uneasiness as the months passed. Not only were her brother and her son George exposed to the enemy, but her husband began to show the effects of his arduous labors and was far from well. To his wife's anxious protests he no doubt made the reply that certain duties must be performed whatever the cost. To this man it is apparent that no endurance seemed too great, no effort too large to serve the cause of liberty.

From family annals we learn that when Betty Lewis was cast down, Mrs. Washington restored her courage by reminding her that "the sister of the Commanding General should be an example of fortitude and faith."

An occasional journey must have been a welcome respite. Perhaps Mrs. Lewis persuaded her husband to visit his plantations and their son Fielding, Jr., in Frederick County, stopping on the way at the springs where the waters were considered beneficial. In a letter addressed to "His Excellency General Washington" Mrs. Lewis wrote from Mount Vernon on September 21, 1779, ". . . Mr. Lewis, Betty and myself just from Berkeley Springs, to see my Sister Washington on our way home and am happy to find her so hearty and looking so well. And could I have found you there it would have completed my happiness. Oh, when will that day come that we shall meet again! I trust in the Lord, soon! Till when

you have sincere prayers and good wishes for your health. . . . Mr. Lewis, George and Betty join me in their love and good wishes."[8]

More and more the colonies were experiencing the effects of war. Lewis mentions the rising prices in a letter written on May 22, 1779, to his son Fielding Lewis, Jr., who was evidently living in Frederick County at that time. "Mr. Kercheval" appears to have been the sales agent of Colonel Lewis. ". . . I am of . . . opinion that it is the business of the debtor to carry the money to the creditor, indeed most people are unwilling to receive their debts now as our currency is so much depreciated. I therefore advise you to come down as soon as your business will permit and get money from me to discharge what you are owing.

"Salt has got to fifteen pounds the bushel, I have sent you one bushel for which I paid that price. Mr. Kercheval informs me that it may be had at Winchester for £200-0-0. It will soon be as high here, and I believe higher, therefore advise you to get your winter stock as soon as you can.

"I shall be up about the middle of July if nothing happens to prevent me. Give my love to Nancy and the children, I am your affectionate father, etc."[9]

Writing again to his son Fielding, Jr., on the ninth of December, Colonel Lewis shows his concern for the produce of his plantations:

"Those who bought corn of Mr. Kercheval must have it on paying the money and I would not have the corn stopped from them. . . . I am certain thirty pounds may be got for corn with you, it is twenty pounds here and rising. . . . Flour will be at forty pounds per hundred and pork now sells from fifty pounds to sixty pounds per hundred. . . . I have

enclosed Mr. Butler an account of what things Tom brings up, and how they are to be disposed of. I shall be glad to have an account of what corn is delivered to those who purchased of Mr. Kercheval. I wrote you what quantity must be reserved for the plantations &c, by my Overseer Carpenter. Let me know whether you intend to send any more flour and what quantity. My love to Nancy and the children. I am, Your affectionate father, etc."[10]

CHAPTER XIII

Last Years of a Patriot

After the establishment of the gun factory, a committee was appointed by the House of Delegates to examine the accounts of the commissioners and report at the end of each year to the House, "the state, progress, and expense of the gun factory in the town of Fredericksburg." The committee made a report on November 16, 1776, that "the several sums of money advanced for the erecting and carrying on the gun factory amounted to the aggregate sum of £5593, 15s. 11d."[1]

At the end of the second year Mr. Carter, member of the committee to examine the accounts of the commissioners of the gun factory, reported to the House of Delegates in November 1777 that "since the last settlement, including the balance due therin" amounting to more than one thousand pounds in favor of Fielding Lewis, Esquire, "there has been disbursed on account of the factory the aggregate sum of £6,281, 5s. 11¼d . . . and remains indebted to Fielding Lewis Esq. the sum of £2,896, 13s. 4¼d." The committee

expressed their opinion "that the accounts are fairly and justly stated," and also that the balance due Fielding Lewis, Esquire, ought to be paid by the public. The committee stated further that since the allowance made to the commissioners was "inadequate compensation for their labor and expenses which necessarily arise," a further sum should be allowed them.[2]

At the time of the establishment of the gun factory, the House of Delegates agreed that "Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick, Esqs., managers of the gun factory, . . . be allowed the sum of three hundred and sixty five pounds for directing and superintending the same."[3] As long as the money equaled in value either gold or silver as in 1776, and indeed until active depreciation set in about 1778, Lewis and Dick accepted their respective annual salaries of £182½. But when the legislators increased the yearly pay of each commissioner to three hundred pounds, a sum worth only fifty-four pounds, and in 1779 to one thousand pounds, worth forty-three pounds, the commissioners considered their compensation "inadequate."

In the year 1778 the currency in Virginia began to be seriously depreciated. We are told that after three years of constant warfare the resources of the state of Virginia were greatly diminished—specie was gone, paper almost worthless, and taxation bore heavily upon the people.[4]

Mr. Mann Page, the Spotsylvania representative and member of the committee on the gun factory, reported to the House on November 28, 1778, that since the last settlement the sum of £8596, 9s. 0¼d. had been disbursed, "and remain indebted to Fielding Lewis Esq. the sum of £2,076, 9s. ¼d." As before the committee declared the accounts fairly and

justly stated, and expressed their opinion that the balance of more than two thousand pounds due to Fielding Lewis "ought to be paid by the public."[5]

The report of the committee on the gun factory made to the House of Delegates on November 12, 1779, indicates the growth of the work of the manufactory. It was shown that fifteen thousand pounds had been disbursed on account of the factory by the public, and the further sum of more than four thousand pounds advanced by Fielding Lewis, Esquire, "one of the commissioners." There was a credit of muskets on hand amounting at last settlement to £20,920. As in previous years the committee found the accounts to be fairly and justly reported, and the House resolved "that the treasurer be directed to pay Fielding Lewis Esq. the sum of £4,113, 13s. 5½d. disbursed by him for the use of the gun factory."[6]

Virginia became the scene of British invasion in October of 1780 when a British force advanced inland after landing at Portsmouth. Desperate efforts were made to secure men and arms. After Gates's defeat at Camden in September, Jefferson wrote him: "We shall exert every nerve to assist you in every way in our power, being as we are without any money in ye Treasury. . . ."[7]

With the enemy advancing and the situation so perilous, it is not surprising that the House of Delegates assembled even on Christmas Day, at that distracted time. On December 25, 1780, the committee on the gun factory reported to the House an aggregate sum of £52,934 os. 4d. and the further sum of £15,904 os. 4d. advanced by Fielding Lewis, Esquire, one of the commissioners. The committee stated that the amount of credits and disbursements were fairly and justly

stated, and requested "that the treasurer be directed to pay Fielding Lewis Esq. the sum of £15,904, os, 4d., disbursed by him for the use of the gun manufactory."[8]

It can be seen from the foregoing reports that after the year 1776 a considerable balance was due Colonel Lewis at the end of each year, for increasingly large sums advanced from his personal funds for the use of the gun manufactory. The House of Delegates agreed with their committee for the factory that this balance should be paid from the public funds. In the years 1779–80, resolutions were adopted that the treasurer was to be instructed to pay the sums owing him, which had grown to considerable proportions. It is difficult to understand how the House of Delegates, who with more thrift than justice had borrowed heavily from Lewis, could have permitted the debt to run for years until he was cramped for a bare living.

We may assume that the state treasurer received instructions to reimburse Colonel Lewis for the money he had advanced for the gun factory, but no records have been found of funds paid him in return for this money. "The Virginia treasury was in great confusion, the finances of the state in bad condition" at that period. Many counties in the state had failed to pay taxes. Indeed, so serious was the financial situation in Virginia, with the currency hopelessly depreciated, that "on November 1779 the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Delegates proposed radical retrenchments."[9]

It was remarkable that Colonel Lewis and Mr. Dick managed to run the vitally important gun factory at all under the abnormal conditions of a deranged treasury. "Discouraging indeed and almost heartbreaking must have been the commissioners' knowledge of the discrepancy between the neces-

sity for the work to continue, and the amount of the funds available therfor."[10] It is certain that without Lewis's financial assistance the business of the arms factory could not have continued. Lewis must have realized the risk he was taking in staking his personal credit to save the factory, sound businessman that he was. But patriots to the core, these men—Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick—threw themselves into the breach and tried to the uttermost to save the work for the state. The resolves of a weaker man might have been shaken. Lewis did not falter until, distressed by financial cares, he lost his health. The strain of the great services he had rendered to his state and his country for the cause of liberty was too great for his physical strength.

It is probable that Lewis and Dick sent their resignations as commissioners of the gun factory soon after the report of their work was read before the assembly on Christmas Day. At a meeting of the House of Delegates on December 30, 1780, it was ordered that ten thousand pounds of tobacco each "be allowed to Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick, Esquires, acting commissioners of the gun factory at Fredericksburg for their services in the year 1780." They further resolved that the governor and the council "appoint a proper person as a commissioner in the room of Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick Esquires, who have resigned."[11]

Although ten thousand pounds of tobacco would have had considerable value, tobacco fluctuated 110 per cent in Virginia in 1780, and the medium of exchange was shifted from pounds to dollars. According to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, "Toward the end of the Revolutionary war, the currency depreciated very rapidly in value, not only from year to year but also from month to month and even from day to

day." The problem of finding the exact value of tobacco at that period is a very complicated one, owing to the extreme fluctuation of exchange. However, authorities agree that the ten thousand pounds of tobacco each, allowed to Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick, Esquires, by the Virginia House of Delegates, by no means compensated for their services at the gun factory.

Charles Dick evidently was persuaded to reconsider his resignation. Writing to Governor Thomas Jefferson two months later, he acknowledged His Excellency's letter appointing him director of the gun factory.[12] Charles Dick directed the operation of the gun factory under adverse conditions, and had he been supplied with necessary materials and funds, might have continued a successful business. But public interest lapsed. The House of Delegates passed an act in May 1783 vesting the gun factory and the lands pertaining thereto in trustees, who were empowered to found an academy for the instruction of young Virginians.[13]

We cannot know the strain under which Colonel Lewis had labored when for months he had been confined at home by illness, and with his creditors no doubt pressing him. A letter which he wrote to Colonel George Brooke, treasurer of the state of Virginia at this time (February 9, 1781), describes the financial responsibilities he had assumed in order that the gun factory be carried on, a description which, for all its proud manliness, is filled with pathos. It clearly shows the high patriotism of Fielding Lewis, and its abuse by the legislators, who showed more thrift than justice in borrowing from him until his credit was strained to the breaking point:

"Dear Sir: I expected to have received by Mr. Dick the money I have advanced for the public gun factory at Freder-

icksburg for which he had a warrant on the treasury. No man is a better judge of the loss I must at any rate sustain by not receiving my money than you, and most part of it was advanced as early as July and without such advance the factory must have been discontinued, as no money could be had at the treasury, or so little that the business must have suffered greatly. Had I suffered that factory to have stopped I know the public would have condemned me for it, although I should not have been blameable as the cause would have been want of money. You may remember that I was desired to borrow all the money I could for the use of the state. I think I promised between thirty and forty thousand pounds, seven thousand of which I lent to the state, being all that I had at that time on hand. By these advances I have distressed myself greatly and at this time am not able to pay the collector my taxes and continue my business in the usual manner. I shall be greatly obliged to you to send me the money by Mr. James Maury who has the warrant. Can it be expected that the State can be well served when its best friends are used in the manner I have been treated?"[14]

No one can read the original records of the vicissitudes endured by the commissioners of the gun factory without recognizing the great personalities and actual consecration of Fielding Lewis and Charles Dick. A knowledge of Lewis's interest in the manufactory of arms, and the strenuous efforts made by him to assure its successful operation, pronounces this no vain boast, but the declaration of a clear conscience and a wounded heart.[15]

Overtaxed and exhausted, there is little doubt that Lewis's indomitable spirit would still have sustained him, had his health not failed. He developed lung trouble, in those days

called consumption. It is apparent from various letters that he had been ill for several months before he sent in his resignation as commissioner of the gun factory. A knowledge of the sense of public duty which characterized Fielding Lewis convinces us that it was the state of his health at this period which must have forced him to retire. We are told that even in spite of feeble health he "managed to render some service to his country; for, when too weak to ride on horseback, he drove . . . to the Court House to make a speech calling for recruits for the army—a speech that, it is said, induced many to volunteer."[16]

Although Lewis was not well enough to attend the vestry meetings of St. George's Parish, the members of the vestry yet depended upon his aid and co-operation. In November 1780 they voted that "570 Loan Office certificates, nine pounds, seven shillings, three pence small money, property of this parish be lodged with Colonel Fielding Lewis until further order of this vestry."[17]

In a letter to Robert Carter Nicholas in regard to a suitable person to take charge of the interests of Colonel Fairfax in Virginia, Washington wrote on November 2, 1779: "The declining state of Colo Lewis's health (from the accounts I have of it), affords little prospect of an acceptance on his part."[18]

Despite his doubts concerning the ability of his brother-in-law to be of service to Colonel Fairfax, General Washington wrote Lewis on the subject from headquarters, Morristown, March 2, 1780, "Before Colonel Fairfax left Virginia he prevailed on me to accept a Power of Attorney for the general superintendancy of his business in that state. Upon my appointment to the command of the American Army I

wrote him that it was no longer in my power to do justice to the trust he had reposed in me, and begged him to make choice of some other person for this purpose. . . . He now desires that I would prevail upon Mr. Nicholas, yourself, or some other gentleman of character to do him this favor. I have written to Mr. Nicholas . . . and shall be glad in case of his refusal, to know if you will undertake the business. An answer to this . . . as soon as possible will much oblige, dear Sir, etc."[19]

We may obtain some idea of the slowness of communication when we read Colonel Lewis's reply to the letter from Washington, dated April 4, 1780:

"I wrote you about eight days since, before I received yours of the 1st and 2nd of March which came by post last Friday. You judged right with regard to our paper currency as I find by a late resolution of congress that it is reduced to one fortieth part of its nominal value. This regulation I suppose was necessary, however unjust it may appear to the world. . . . I did not expect so great a discount as forty . . . although I expected something of the sort must have happened for the preservation of the landed interest which never could have paid the enormous debt we are now involved in, and daily increasing. I cannot say but I shall be among the sufferers on this occasion. . . .

"I wish it was in my power to render any service to Colonel Fairfax by superintending his business. My bad state of health prevents my paying the attention to my own that it requires, therefore I cannot undertake his, as it would not be in my power to do him any tolerable justice. . . . Mrs. Lewis joins me in love to you and Mrs. Washington, she is

obliged to Mrs. Washington for the trouble in sending her muslin to Bethlehem."[20]

In a very long letter to Fielding Lewis, begun at Morristown on May 5, 1780, with a preamble, Washington continued from Bergen County, New Jersey, on July 6: "The Gazettes will give you an account of the enemy's movements the 7th and 23rd of last month from Elizabethtown Point and of their having taken Post there . . . there can be no occasion therefore to detail the account . . ."; Washington wrote of the necessity for increased powers of Congress; of the distresses of the army—the lack of food and clothes: ". . . at least a fourth of the whole with not even the shadow of a blanket . . . severe as the winter has been. Under the circumstances it is no difficult matter to conceive what a time I must have had to keep up appearances and prevent the most dangerous consequences. . . . We may rely upon it that we shall never have peace till the enemy are convinced that we are in a condition to carry on the war. It is no new maxim in politics that for a nation to obtain peace, or insure it, it must be prepared for war. After the enemy had maneuvered in the Jerseys . . . they . . . suddenly left the state and . . . seemed to threaten our posts on the North river . . . after being on board their vessels two or three days . . . they disembarked about four miles above Kingsbridge and encamped across from thence over to the East River Sound where they have lain ever since, foraging . . . knowing it was not in my power to dislodge them, I came to this place to refresh my troops, wait the expected reinforcements by Drafts, and the arrival of the French Fleet.

"Letters of this length will be the best apology I can

make for the infrequency of them, for were they not rare, they would be insufferable.

"My best affections attend my sister and the family. With sentiments of the most perfect regard, I am, etc."[21]

The illness which confined Colonel Lewis at home for so many months must have tried the patience of a man who had led the active life to which he was accustomed, months which we may feel certain were brightened by the attentions and tender solicitude of his devoted wife. He probably followed with eager interest news of the movements of the opposing armies, and was depressed when it looked for a while as if the British were indeed turned victors. His spirits must have risen when, after weary days of waiting and hearing of defeats, there was a turn of affairs and word came of General Greene's successes in North Carolina. Heartening also must have been the report that Washington had sent Lafayette to take charge of operations in Virginia. Lewis was doubtless able to keep in touch with the business of the gun factory through visits from Charles Dick and from his son John Lewis, who assisted Dick after his father's resignation.

Mrs. Lewis may have been able to leave home at times when her husband was well enough, and go with some of her friends to the gun factory to help in the making of cartridges. In a report to the chief executive, Major Charles Dick wrote: ". . . the gentlemen of this town and even the ladies have very spiritedly attended at the gunnery and assisted to make up already above 20,000 cartridges."[22] And again, Mrs. Lewis may have driven to the building on Caroline and William streets which was maintained as a hospital, to carry tempting dishes of food to sick and wounded soldiers.

A letter written to Washington on April 24, 1781, by

Fielding Lewis gives us a glimpse of his thoughts at that time:

"My bad state of health has confined me indoors ever since last October and at times reduced me very low. I am something better this week past and am yet hopeful that good weather and exercise may give me some relief.

"The old lady [who] has been very ill, is now out of danger and will soon be able to leave her room. My family are well. Betty will soon enter into marriage with Mr. Chas. Carter, second son to Mr. Edward Carter, who appears to be a prudent young man, with whom she will be as happy as the times, and this world will admit to us poor mortals. . . .

"Our state affairs go on as usual . . . although we have the enemy among us yet there is not that spirit which prevailed at the beginning of our contest with Great Britain. . . . Mr. Page pays upwards of four thousand pounds this year tax on his house. My dwelling house and offices will cost me upwards of two thousand five hundred pounds taxes. . . . As Expresses are frequently passing to you, I expect your information is better than I can give you. The enemy's privateers are troublesome on the rivers, no person who lives on the banks of the Potomac can have any certainty of not being taken out of his bed before morning. Most people have removed their furniture, and many families are gone into the forest where places could be got. . . . Our distress is truly alarming . . . taxes high, no price for corn, wheat, flour or tobacco equal to the depreciation of our money, and all kinds of imported goods so high that none can afford to buy except the tradesmen and speculators.

"Mrs. Lewis and Betsy join me in our love to you and your Lady, Your most affectionate, humble servant, etc.

"It is reported that General Phillips is moving up James

River with his ships. The inhabitants of Richmond are moving the public stores from thence, and their private property, so that the place of our Assembly meeting will probably be changed to Alexandria or this place."[23]

Young Betty Lewis was married on the anniversary of her parents' wedding day, May 7, 1781, to Charles Carter, son of Colonel Edward and Sarah (Champe) Carter of Fredericksburg.[24] Betty Lewis Carter's embroidered muslin wedding dress may be seen at Kenmore today.

General Washington's reply to Colonel Lewis's letter is dated Peaks-kill, June 28, 1781: "Nothing but the hurry of business and a mind always on the stretch on account of the variety of matter that is constantly presented to it could have induced me to let your letter of the 24th of April remain so long unacknowledged.

"I feel much for the present distress of Virginia, and for the many worthy persons on whom the calamities of war have been most severe; and wish my ability to serve them was equal to my wishes, but it is not. . . . I am doing all I can to counteract the enemy's plans to the southward, but how far I shall succeed time only can discover. . . . We have nothing very interesting at this time in this quarter except the marching of the French Army from Rhode Island to form a junction with ours on this river which event will probably take place in about six days.

"I wish the girls who have lately taken husbands all the happiness which this life affords, and very sincerely wish you a perfect recovery of your health.

"Mrs. Washington left me on Monday last. . . . It was uncertain whether she would proceed further than Philadel-



The guest room (often occupied by General Washington and his wife)



Kitchen in outbuilding to north of the mansion

phia until our affairs in Virginia should take a more favorable turn.

"Remember me in the most affectionate manner to my sister and the rest of the family and be assured that I am, with much truth, dear Sir, Your etc."[25]

Apparently there was no improvement in Colonel Lewis's physical condition. We learn that in October 1781 he was "in a languishing state of health." It may have been even before that time that Colonel and Mrs. Lewis sought a higher climate, no doubt with the hope that a change of air might prove beneficial. It was long their custom during the prostrating heat of the low country in summer to journey to the beautiful mountain country of the Shenandoah Valley. Their son Fielding Lewis, Jr., lived in Frederick, the county in which Colonel Lewis himself was a large landowner. And both Samuel and Charles Washington had built their homes in the adjoining county of Berkeley.

Toward the last Colonel Lewis appears to have suffered a lingering illness. Yet he lived to hear of the victory of the cause for which he had sacrificed so much. With the slowness of communication, it must have taken some time before the news of the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781, reached him. By curious coincidence it was upon that date that Lewis wrote his will.

A petition was made to the House of Delegates on May 13, 1784, by Richard Brooke and James Tutt of Fredericksburg concerning their payment for erecting a magazine at the manufactory of arms in Fredericksburg, a work for which they had been engaged by Colonel Fielding Lewis. Brooke and Tutt stated in their petition: ". . . a short time before the building was finished, Coll Lewis (being indisposed), re-

moved to a distant part of the country, and not finding the relief which he expected from a change of air, was unable to return to his former place of residence, and after a lingering illness, died."[26]

The exact place of Colonel Lewis's death has never been determined, although all evidence points to Frederick County. Sometime between December 10, 1781, when he added a codicil to his will, and seventeen days later when on December 27 his name was recorded in Frederick County as *deceased*,[27] the gallant spirit of Colonel Fielding Lewis entered into life eternal. He was buried in the churchyard of St. George's Church in Fredericksburg. There have been three buildings in the town on the same site, all bearing the name of St. George's. "When the present building was erected by St. George's congregation, it was made considerably larger than any that preceded it . . . the vestibule was extended over some graves [in the cemetery adjoining the church] without disturbing them. . . . Among these latter were those of Colonel Fielding Lewis, brother-in-law to George Washington, and three of his infant grandchildren."[28] The grave of Colonel Lewis is under the steps of the present church and a bronze tablet marks the spot.

It is recorded in the vestry minutes of St. George's Parish that on February 9, 1782, Mann Page, Gentleman, was "appointed vestryman in the room of Fielding Lewis, Esq., deceased."

In a letter addressed to His Excellency, General George Washington in Philadelphia, Betty Lewis wrote to her brother from Fredericksburg on August 25, 1783, of the sorrowful times through which she had passed:

"Johnny Lewis's trip to Philadelphia affords me an op-

portunity to congratulate you on the happy change in your affairs, as I hope it will be the means of seeing you soon.

"I have been at a loss to account for your long silence. The multiplicity of business you have on you is the only one I can find that flatters me I am not forgotten. But then, my dear brother, was there not one half hour you could spare to write a few lines to an only sister who was laboring under so much affliction?

"My poor, dear Mr. Lewis, and my brother Sam both lay ill at the same time and it was the Lord's will to take them to Himself, in three weeks, one after another. And with the confinement and the uneasiness of mind, it caused me to get in such an ill state of health that I expected to follow them. It happened at a time when everything contributed to my uneasiness . . . (Your being in Fredericksburg the only chance we had of seeing you from the commencement of the war), that my spirits were quite gone.

"I thank God I am recovering my health fast, and please myself with thoughts of seeing you once more with us. And to continue in peace and quiet for the remainder of our days, is the sincere and ardent prayer of Your affectionate and loving sister Betty Lewis.

"My love and best wishes to my Sister Washington. I wrote you three letters when you were in Virginia, but never heard if you got one of them."[29]

Washington had written to John Lewis from Newburg, April 17, 1782: "I have heard, and sincerely lament, the death of your father and my concern is increased by the information in your letter . . . of his dying much indebted.

"So far as I am interested in the lands which he has directed by his Will to be sold, I consent to the disposal of them

on 12 months credit. The necessity of selling them at this time is to be regretted, as lands . . . must sell to a disadvantage . . . when there is a dearth of money, especially those which have been and may again be exposed to the enemy. I pray you to give my best love to my sister and the family."[30]

It was long the custom of the Rev. Timothy Alden, member of both the Massachusetts and the New York Historical Societies, whenever he visited any town, to spend much time in its old burying ground. In these places he copied epitaphs of outstanding persons and gathered all possible information about their lives and characters, which he at length published. Mr. Alden's epitaphs of both Colonel and Mrs. Lewis are of especial interest for the reason that five of the Lewis children were living in the year 1814 when the book was published, and also because Timothy Green, a cousin of the Rev. Mr. Alden, had in 1786 started the first Fredericksburg newspaper, the *Virginia Herald and Falmouth Advertiser:*

"Colonel Fielding Lewis . . . married Miss Elizabeth Washington, the only sister of the late President of the United States. Their children were, Captain Fielding Lewis who died in Fairfax county at the age of about fifty years. Captain George Lewis who was captain of General Washington's life guard during the revolutionary war and is now settled in King George county. Elizabeth Lewis, the wife of Charles Carter, Esq., formerly of Fredericksburg. Major Lawrence Lewis who was Aid to General Morgan in suppressing the uprising in the west part of Pennsylvania, and now resides at his seat which embraces a part of the Mount Vernon estate. Captain Robert Lewis who was one of President Washington's secretaries from the time of his inaugura-

tion in 1789 to 1791, and is now settled in the delightful little city of Fredericksburg. Howell Lewis, who lives at the Great Kanawha.

"Colonel Lewis was proprietor of half of the town of Fredericksburg, and of an extensive territory adjoining it. He left a very valuable estate which he divided equally between his sons. He was a most zealous partisan in behalf of his county and took a warm and decided part in opposition to the tyrannical measures of Great Britain. He ever stood high in the affections of General Washington and of his fellow citizens. He superintended the great manufactory of arms at Fredericksburg which was in operation during the Revolutionary War. For a number of years he was magistrate in the county of Spotsylvania. He also represented that county in the State legislature. His last moments were gladdened at hearing of the capture of Cornwallis.

"In all disputes and difficulties among his neighbors, his counsel was eagerly sought, and he had the invaluable talent of restoring harmony and love where discord and hatred had disturbed the order and happiness of society. He was greatly esteemed and revered, and he was eminently entitled to the character of a peacemaker.

"His constitution gradually sank under a consumptive complaint, but he was enabled to view the last enemy without a fear. He had long been an exemplary and zealous professor of religion, and he at length left the world in the triumphs of the Christian hope. Mark the perfect man and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace."[31]

Washington remained at Yorktown for more than two weeks after the surrender of Cornwallis. It was perhaps when he had set forth on his homeward journey that information

came to him from Eltham[32] of the serious illness at that place of his stepson John Parke Custis. In a letter written November 5, 1781, from Eltham, the home of his brother-in-law, Colonel Bassett, to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., military secretary of his staff, Washington describes the circumstances: "I came here in time to see Mr. Custis breathe his last. . . . The deep and solemn distress of the mother, and affliction of the wife of the amiable young man require every comfort in my power to afford them. The last rites of the deceased I must also see performed; these will take me three or four days; when I shall proceed with Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Custis to Mount Vernon."[33]

Washington was always accustomed to staying at his sister's home when he passed through Fredericksburg. It seems most probable that upon this occasion General Washington, his military secretary, and the two ladies in deepest mourning followed his usual custom and stopped at Kenmore on their homeward journey from Eltham.

There has long been a tradition in Fredericksburg that Betty Lewis was out visiting a neighbor when she heard of her brother's arrival at Kenmore after the Yorktown campaign. She hurried home and was told by a servant where to look for him. When she went upstairs she found George Washington stretched out full length upon her own bed, fast asleep. When she heard of the bereavement that had come to the family, we may be sure Mrs. Lewis was filled with sympathy and used every means in her power to show loving attention to the sorrowing relatives in her home.

CHAPTER XIV

Kenmore, Millbrook, and Western View

NATURALLY the death of Colonel Lewis brought changes in the Lewis household. Betty Lewis, a widow at the age of forty-nine, must have found it difficult to adjust herself to her added responsibilities and to the straitened circumstances to which she was reduced. With her three older children married and established in homes of their own, her chief concern was for the younger boys, Lawrence, fifteen, Robert, thirteen, and Howell, eleven years old at the time of their father's death.

Schooled by the stern experiences of life, Mary Washington doubtless gave her daughter the greatest possible solace and comfort at that time. It must have renewed Betty Lewis's courage to remember that after the death of Augustine Washington her mother had been left a widow with five children to raise, four of them younger than her own youngest son, Howell.

Although Mrs. Lewis was experienced in the executive

management of her large household, the handling of business affairs must have presented a difficult problem. We may be sure her husband had relieved her of all financial responsibilities during the years of their married life. In his will Colonel Lewis named his wife and his sons John, Fielding, and George, his executors. To his wife he left all of his lots in the town of Fredericksburg, all of his lands in Spotsylvania County during her lifetime, except that part rented by his son John, together with the carriages, plate, and household furniture, ten working Negroes, eight house servants and their children, also the stock of cattle, sheep, and horses, and his brick warehouse. In accordance with theories of the day in regard to the descent of property, Colonel Lewis provided that the larger portion of his property was to fall to his oldest son, John, after the death of Mrs. Lewis. The other sons received goodly shares. Besides his home, the bulk of Colonel Lewis's estate consisted of the considerable land holdings he had acquired which, because of the deflated state of the currency, were of low value at the time of his death.[1]

In all probability many consultations were held at Kenmore by the executors as they met there together to talk over the administration of Colonel Lewis's estate. It must soon have become apparent that the estate was deeply involved, as a result of the sacrifices he had made on account of the gun manufactory. It is evident that a decision was reached that it would be necessary to sell many of the town lots, as well as a considerable part of the Kenmore plantation in order to meet the existing obligations.

No doubt Betty Lewis spent many a sleepless night, hoping against hope that she might be able to retain her beloved home. And keep it she did for fourteen years after her hus-

band's death, although we may be sure it was never the same to her without him. The once flourishing plantation was reduced year by year when various parcels of land had to be sold. The Spotsylvania tax lists during those years show the noticeable dwindling in the number of servants, as well as the number of cattle and of horses for which "Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis" was taxed.[2]

From the following accounts it is evident that the Lewis boys attended the academy in Fredericksburg for some time. The first bill to Mrs. Lewis is dated August 11, 1783:

To Jno Lowe, to the tuition of your three sons Law^{ce}, Rob, and Howell from ye 1 May to Do Aug. at 4 guineas each £4. 4s. 0
To Do your two sons Law^{ce} and Rob fr Do to 12 Aug at Do 0 7. 0

£4.11. 0

Dear Madam, As your sons inform me they leave me this evening, have sent their Acct to this day, and as I am to pay the money to Mr. Jno Frazer tomorrow, hope you will send it, or, if you please, your order on him by 12 o'clock, as that is the time stipulated.

I am, Madam, Most respectfully yours
Acady *Jno Lowe*
Aug. 11, '83.

A receipted bill to "Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis," April 10, 1785, shows the measures of economy she had adopted by making a partial payment in hay for her sons' tuition:

To teaching yr three sons 1 qr year £6. 6s. 0
By 200 ----- of Hay ---- ---- 0 12s. 0

Balance received for 1 Quarters tuition, By me £5.14s. 0
Evin Price Johnston.[3]

According to the late Mrs. Fleming, first president of the Kenmore Association, Mrs. Lewis had a tutor for a time, and kept a small boarding school in order to educate her three sons. Many years ago it was recalled in Fredericksburg that "Mrs. Lucas, who . . . died at the age of ninety-four, told . . . that in childhood she was taught in a schoolroom located in the garden of Kenmore, which she always understood had been opened there in the time of Betty Lewis."[4]

In 1785 when Howell Lewis was fourteen years of age, he entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, where he remained for two years. "While Washington was in command of the colonial troops besieging Boston in 1775, he had been thrown into contact with Samuel Phillips, Jr., afterwards the projector of Phillips Academy."[5] After the war Washington was probably informed of what Phillips had done in education, and we may surmise that he encouraged Mrs. Lewis to send her youngest son to the school in New England.

Through all the changes Mrs. Lewis's intrepid spirit was the same. Acres might go, but she still clung to her home and her garden. We may be certain that the fortitude which had come to her in full measure from her mother asserted itself, and that after a time she regained her usual lively cheerfulness which, it has been said, "animated all around her." Having shouldered the responsibility of managing her diminished household with strict economy, Betty Lewis continued along her accustomed way, ministering to the wants of her family in her usual unselfish manner, and showing the loving, sympathetic friendship which endeared her to all of her neighbors. Fredericksburg has long been famed for the hospitality and

kindliness of its people. Many of Betty Lewis's own and her husband's relations had intermarried with members of prominent families of the town, there were numerous cousins living near her home, and her affections were bound up in them.

The visits from her dearly loved relatives who lived at some distance from Fredericksburg must have been an especial incentive to Mrs. Lewis for keeping up the home which must have seemed sadly changed after the loss of her husband.

The people of Fredericksburg had been eager to celebrate the home-coming of the hero who had spent many of his boyhood years in their midst, and they waited long and patiently. After Washington surrendered his commission at Annapolis on December 23, 1783, he went to Mount Vernon for Christmas, where he was snowbound for weeks. As soon as possible he made a journey to Fredericksburg in order, as he wrote General Henry Knox, to pay his duty "to an aged mother." He left Mount Vernon on February 11, 1784, and returned five days later.[6]

When General Washington's coming became known, the people of Fredericksburg immediately started great preparations for a Peace Ball to be given in his honor. A committee made a special visit to Mary Washington in her home on Charles Street, urging her to attend the ball, and she consented. Tradition has it that all over the town the citizens brought out their velvets and brocades, their laces and jewelry, and polished their silver buckles in preparation for the great occasion. Perhaps Betty Lewis went to the ball as an onlooker and had the joy of seeing the commander in chief as he entered the large room of the Indian queen filled with gay company, with their mother leaning on his arm. It must

have filled the heart of his sister with pride to behold the homage paid to her brother by his former neighbors and comrades-in-arms as they crowded around him.

After a visit at Mount Vernon the Marquis de Lafayette made a special journey to Fredericksburg one autumn day in 1784 for the express purpose of paying his respects to the mother of Washington. Robert Lewis often told his family the story of how he as a boy of fifteen years conducted the distinguished French general along the path leading from Kenmore to his grandmother's cottage.

Mrs. Washington was working in her garden as they drew near. She wore a black stuff gown and apron and was busily engaged in raking and weeding.

"There, sir," Robert announced, "is my grandmother!" Word had not been sent to her in advance, but the boy knew he could depend upon her.

As the marquis made the military salute, Mrs. Washington recognized her distinguished visitor and was equal to the occasion. She dropped her rake and came toward the garden paling, saying with a smile, "Ah, Marquis, you see an old woman, but come in, I can make you welcome without parade of changing my dress."[7] Then she led the way into the house and served him with mint julep and gingerbread. According to tradition the Marquis de Lafayette was the guest of Mrs. Lewis at her home upon this occasion. Among the rare treasures preserved today at the Virginia Historical Society is an inlaid wooden tea caddy and silver spoon presented by Lafayette to Mrs. Fielding Lewis.

Mrs. Washington's health began to fail. As she grew more feeble from day to day it was her daughter's privilege to attend to her wants and to give her watchful care. Many

times a day Betty Lewis must have gone back and forth over the long brick walk between her mother's home and her own. On bright days as long as the invalid was able it was a familiar sight to the people of the town to see the two ladies seated side by side in the phaeton which was Mrs. Washington's favorite conveyance, as they went for an airing. A granddaughter of Robert Lewis has told of the phaeton as described to her by her grandfather: "It was low, without a top and resembled a Windsor chair with the difference that it had a seat in front for the driver, and two seats within. It was an easy step from the ground and had a somewhat straight back. . . . Her coachman Stephen was a tall, elderly colored man, full of pompous pride and dignity, . . . and as my grandfather stated, when passing through the streets of Fredericksburg in this unostentatious manner her progress became an ovation, for everyone, from the gray-haired old man to the thoughtless schoolboy, lifted his hat to the mother of Washington."[8]

Dr. Charles Mortimer and Dr. Elisha Hall, beloved neighbors and friends, made frequent visits to Mrs. Washington, trying to administer relief for her great suffering, which was caused by a cancer of the breast.

In his diary Washington makes note on April 26, 1787, "of receiving an express between three and four in the afternoon informing me of the serious illness of my mother and Sister Lewis. I resolved to set out for Fredericksburg." And the following day: "About sunrise I commenced my journey, baited at Dumfries and reached Fredericksburg before two o'clock, and found both my mother and sister better than I expected. The latter out of danger as is supposed, but the extreme low state in which the former was, left little hope of her recovery, as she was exceedingly reduced and much de-

bilitated by age and disorder. Dined and lodged at my sister's." The next day, April 28, "Dined at Mrs. Lewis' and drank tea at Judge Mercer's. General Weedon, Col. Charles Carter, Judge Mercer, and Mr. John Lewis dined with me at my sister's."[9]

The family had been much saddened in February by the death of John Augustine Washington at Bushfield, "dear Johnne," as his mother affectionately termed him in her letters. Mary Washington clung more closely to her three remaining children, and to her small Bible for which she had made a cover of buff and blue homespun.[10] As long as she had strength it must have brought her comfort to sit by the window overlooking her garden where she could see the box bushes, flowers, and shrubs brought from her home across the Rappahannock.

In February of the year 1789 came the momentous news that Washington had been elected first President of the United States. Before his mother and sister had time to become accustomed to the greatest honor yet conferred upon him, Washington himself, realizing his mother's feeble condition, came straight to Fredericksburg to see her before assuming the heavy responsibilities which lay before him. Mary Washington was by that time confined to her large corner room in the simple cottage on Charles Street. Both she and her son must have known it was their final meeting, and each faced the fact with their usual dignity and calmness. Before he left she gave him her accustomed blessing.

In the midst of his tremendous new duties Washington bore his Fredericksburg relatives close in mind. Soon after the last visit to his mother he wrote his sister on March 15, 1789: "Since you were speaking to me concerning your son

Bob, I have thought it probable that I may have occasion for a young person in my family of good disposition, who writes a good hand, and who can confine himself to a certain reasonable number of hours in the twenty four to the recording of letters in books, which will be provided for their reception from the separate papers on which they now are and will be first draughted.

"If Bob is of opinion that this employment will suit his inclination, and he will take his chance for the allowance that will be made . . . I will be very glad to give him the preference. He will be at no expense (except in the article of cloathing) as he will be one of the family and live as we do.

"Should he incline to engage I could wish to know it by the first post after this letter gets to you . . . before I get to New York, at which place direct for me, as I presume a letter cannot reach Mount Vernon before I shall have set out.

"If he comes, it may be with his Aunt, (and at her expence, as she will want somebody to accompany her), and when I send my horses back after I am fixed in New York . . . I am, etc."[11]

To this invitation Robert Lewis replied in eager haste:

"Dear Uncle: We received yours of the 15th instant and are happy to hear that all your family are well. I shall ever consider myself under a thousand obligations for the preferred post, and think the confinement you speak of rather a pleasure, and hope from my assiduous attention to merit that station. I wrote my aunt the proposals you had made, and at the same time my readiness to accompany her at a moment's notice. My grandmother was very well disposed to lend the carriage, but on condition that it should be returned

when of no further use to my aunt. All the family join in love to you, and believe me in the interim, to be, etc."[12]

If it was her own phaeton Mary Washington had consented for her grandson to use, she may be pardoned for the conditions she had laid upon the loan. She had left that phaeton to her daughter Betty in her will,[13] and she must have wished to be assured of its return.

The first duty to which Robert Lewis was assigned by his uncle to perform was to accompany Mrs. Martha Washington and her party from Mount Vernon to New York, the new capital.[14] No doubt realizing the importance of the journey, the young man kept a diary along the way in which he gives a fresh boyish account of his experiences:

"On Wednesday the 13th of May I left F . . . g accompanied by Mr. Francis Thornton Jr. We arrived at Dunfries. . . . I had experienced the most disagreeable sensations imaginable with the reflections of parting with an aged mother and grandmother, and acquaintances, who all appeared equally affected with the separation. When our hands touched, perhaps for the last time and our tongues refused their office in bidding farewell, Heaven, I am assured, witnessed and approved, the purity and ardor of our affections. The sprightly conversation and . . . condolence of my friend Thornton served in a great measure to alleviate the pangs which tore my breast. . . ."

The diary continues with a description of the arrival at Mount Vernon where "everything appeared to be in confusion . . . packing and making all necessary preparations for the intended peregrination to New York." Robert Lewis remained at Mount Vernon all the day following, "in which time Thornton and myself diverted ourselves in viewing all

the curiousities to be seen, and thought ourselves fully compensated for the fatigue. After taking an early dinner we left Mount Vernon." According to the diary, they proceeded to Alexandria and spent the night there with Mr. and Mrs. Bushrod Washington.

The next evening was spent at Dr. Stuart's, then they continued on to Georgetown where they took the ferry. Robert describes in detail the food eaten on the way, the various stopping places, the people they met, and the kindness shown them. Every detail of the journey had been planned in advance. When they approached Baltimore several gentlemen had come out for the purpose of escorting Mrs. Washington into the town. They proceeded to the home of Mrs. Carroll, "who expected Mrs. Washington and had made considerable preparation. We found a large bowl of salubrious ice punch, with fruits etc. which had been plucked from the trees in a green house lying on the tables in great abundance. These, after riding twenty five or thirty miles without eating or drinking were no unwelcome luxury. However Mrs. Carroll could not complain that we had not done her punch honor, for in half an hour (the time we tarried) this bowl, which held upwards of two gallons, was entirely consumed."[15]

The incidents of the journey were recorded as the party continued on their way. As it happened, Mrs. Washington was so dined and feted on the journey, the travelers did not arrive in New York in time for Washington's inauguration. If Robert Lewis from time to time sent his mother the notes in his diary, they must have furnished great diversion to her and her mother. It would not have surprised Betty Lewis to find herself referred to as "aged" in her son's first entry in

the diary, even though she was only fifty-six. In those days, when girls married at such an early age, any lady over thirty-five was considered elderly.

The long days of the last summer of Mary Washington's life dragged along slowly, bringing great suffering to her and great anxiety for her daughter, who did everything in her power to relieve her mother's pain. Both Dr. Mortimer and Dr. Hall were in constant attendance. Betty Lewis's anxiety was not lessened when word came of the illness of the new President. In a letter addressed to George Washington, President of the United States, New York, favored by Mr. Urquhart, his sister wrote him on July 24, 1789:

"We have been extremely concerned at hearing of your late illness, but the arrival of Robert's last letter brought us the agreeable information that the doctors had pronounced you would shortly be able to ride out. When I had last the pleasure of seeing you I observed your fondness for honey. I have got a large pot of very fine [honey] in the comb which I shall send by the first opportunity.

"I am sorry to inform you my mother's breast still continues bad. God only, knows how it will end. I dread the consequences, she is sensible of it and perfectly resigned—wishes for nothing more than to keep it easy. She wishes to hear from you, she will not believe you are well until she has it from under your hand. The doctors think if they could get some hemlock, it would be of service to her breast.[16] If you could secure some there, Mr. Urquhart will bring it for her, there is none to be got here.

"Your relations all join me in love and good wishes to you and Sister Washington. And believe me, Your affectionate sister Betty Lewis."[17]

Mary Washington's release came a few weeks later. She died on the twenty-fifth of August, in the year 1789,[18] and was buried near the spot she so dearly loved, close to the rocks on the high bluff to the southwest of the Lewis estate. It was at this spot where at her "particular request," according to her grandson Lawrence Lewis, "her remains were deposited."[19] We may have no doubt that Betty Lewis carried out in every detail the last wishes of her mother. It is likely that she also attended to paying Joseph Berry, the "Cryer," for carrying messages to inform close friends and relatives of Mrs. Washington's death, and for tolling the bell,[20] probably at St. George's Church. The *Virginia Gazette* of September 3 published the obituary of Mary Washington, surrounded by a black border and headed: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace! On Tuesday afternoon, at her seat near Fredericksburg, departed this life in a very advanced age, Mrs. Washington, the Mother of our beloved President. This venerable lady lived to experience the exquisite and singular felicity of seeing her Illustrious Son and Pupil raised to the highest honors which a grateful people could bestow upon the darling object of their affections."

Washington was too weakened by his recent illness and too burdened with his arduous duties to be with his mother at the last, or to attend her funeral. After hearing of his mother's death, he wrote a long letter to his sister from New York on September 13, 1789, expressing the grief they both felt at their great loss:

"Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing that heaven has spared ours to an age beyond which few attain, and favoured her with the full employment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily

strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations, and the hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield to the decree of the Creator. When I was last in Fredericksburg I took a final leave of my mother, never expecting to see her more. . . . It will be impossible for me at this distance, and circumstanced as I am, to give the smallest attention to the execution of her Will. . . ." And continuing with explicit directions, which indicate the confidence he had in his sister's discernment and the sureness of her judgment, Washington entrusted Betty Lewis with the settlement of their mother's estate: "If you think this business will be too troublesome for you, with the aid of your sons and Mr. Carter, whom I am persuaded will give each of us assistance, [and] you will let me know it, I will desire Major George Washington to attend."[21]

Attending to the simple bequests left by her mother in her will, and looking after the settlement of her estate according to her brother's wishes was probably useful employment to Mrs. Lewis in her loneliness. Her own home must have seemed more empty than ever without her beloved parent close by, with her daughter gone, and all of her sons save Lawrence away. There is little doubt that visits from her children and grandchildren were the source of her greatest pleasure. It is likely that Fielding Lewis, Jr., with his wife Ann (Alexander) came from their home in Fairfax County from time to time, bringing their children with them to Kenmore, and George Lewis with Catharine (Daingerfield), his wife, and four children from Frederick County. It was not until 1796 that George Lewis moved his family to Marmion, their permanent home in King George County

where their descendants live to this day. Betty Lewis Carter, with her husband Charles Carter and some of their numerous children, must have come frequently from their home, Western View, in Culpeper County.

After spending two years as one of Washington's secretaries when New York was the capital city and later when Philadelphia was the seat of government, Robert Lewis made an important decision. He wrote Washington from Philadelphia on the tenth of January 1791 of his determination, on condition of his uncle's approval, "to change his situation in life" by marrying a young lady "whose beauty and merit had engaged his affection and esteem." Doubtless Washington gave his consent, for soon afterward Robert Lewis married Judith Carter Browne, daughter of William Burnet and Judith Carter Browne of Elsing Green in King William County.[22] They made their home in Frederick County for several years and Robert was again engaged by his uncle to work for him. In a letter to Battaile Muse on October 15, 1791, Washington wrote: "As you have intimated at different times your inclination to give up the collection of my rents, and as Mr. Robert Lewis, a nephew of mine, is now settled in Frederick [County], and is willing to undertake it, I request that you will put the leases and other papers . . . into his hands."[23]

When Washington started on his famous Southern tour in the spring of 1791 in his white coach with gilded frame and painted panels, preceded by outriders in scarlet and white livery, his purpose was "better to bind firmly the ties of the union."[24] He was not accompanied by his wife for fear the trip—full of hardships of a sort, over many a bad road—would prove too severe a tax upon her. "With that simplicity

and selflessness which marked the man . . . he gave no advance notice of his prospective visit to his boyhood home." He knew beyond a shadow of a doubt that he could depend upon an unfailing welcome awaiting him in his sister's home where the guest room was always in readiness for his coming. Mr. Archibald Henderson has graphically described the visit. There was incomparable fitness in the real inauguration of his tour at Fredericksburg on April 8. "Not being apprized of his approach, the citizens were 'disappointed in the opportunities of evincing their respect . . . by meeting him previous to his arrival.' No sooner had his chariot and entourage swept through the quiet village overlooking the placid river than the place was all agog with the news: 'The President is here! He arrived at one o'clock and is staying at the home of his sister . . . Mrs. Fielding Lewis.' How charged with memories, grave and gay, must have been those hours he spent this day and the next in company with his sister Betty . . . at lovely Kenmore!"[25] Immediately preparations were begun in the town for a reception and a public dinner at which due honor was to be paid to the beloved and honored guest. From a contemporary print we learn that "an elegant dinner was prepared at the Town Hall." Mayor McWilliams had prepared an address for the occasion and welcomed President Washington "to the seat of your venerable parent and of your worthy relations." It was in reply to the address that Washington referred to Fredericksburg as "the place of my growing infancy."[26]

Betty Lewis must have taken great interest in all of the entertainments planned by committees of prominent citizens, and felt intense pride in her honored guest. With all the town

claiming him, she must have cherished the few moments when they could talk quietly together.

It is likely that news of the uprising in western Pennsylvania in 1794, at the outbreak of the Whisky Rebellion, brought anxiety to Betty Lewis. Her apprehension doubtless increased when her three sons, George, Lawrence, and Howell, announced their intentions of joining the forces which were being dispatched to Fort Pitt to quell the disorder. Remembering how the younger boys had longed to join the Revolutionary Army, it is not likely that she raised objections when an opportunity arose for them to serve their country. George Lewis re-entered the service as captain of cavalry commanding the Fredericksburg Troop of Volunteers. In his diary written at that period, Dr. Robert Wellford of Fredericksburg who, as physician, accompanied the troops marching from that town, wrote on September 22, 1794: "The Volunteer Troop of Fredericksburg were under orders to march, the evening of that day to Fort Pitt. . . . Express orders were given by Capt. Lewis for the Troop to get ready at the sound of the Trumpet, and at all events to be equipped on parade by daybreak."[27]

The Troop set out on September 24 and Dr. Wellford records events along the way: "On October 9th we took up our Quarters . . . at Fort Cumberland, sixty nine miles from Winchester. October 16th, Between eleven and twelve this day arrived the President of the United States, escorted into town and to Headquarters by three troops of light dragoons. October 17th, Captain Lewis promoted to be Major Commandant of the Cavalry . . . of the Fredericksburg Troop of Volunteers. October 19th . . . The Cavalry this morning escorted the President about five miles from (camp), when

he requested the troops to return, and at taking leave, spoke to Major George Lewis as follows: 'George, you are the eldest of five nephews that I have in this Army. Let your conduct be an example to them, and do not turn your back until ordered.' " A memorandum follows the last entry: "The President's five nephews are Major George Lewis, Commandant of the Cavalry; Major Lawrence Lewis, Aid de Camp to Major Genl Morgan; Mr. Howell Lewis in Capt. Mercer's troop; and Mr. Saml Washington (son of Col Ch's Washington), and Mr. Lawrence Washington (son of Col. Saml. Washington), both of whom are light horsemen in the troop lately commanded by Capt. Lewis."[28]

After Samuel Washington died at Harewood in 1781, leaving a much involved estate, General Washington with his accustomed generosity helped with the expenses of his brother's sons and his youngest child, Harriot. She became a member of the Mount Vernon household during the absence of the Washington family and appears to have been looked after then by Mrs. Washington's niece, Frances Bassett, who married George Augustine Washington, manager of Mount Vernon from 1785 to 1793.[29]

Judging from the letters which she wrote from time to time to her brother, it is apparent that the last years Betty Lewis spent at Kenmore were not altogether peaceful. Harassed by sickness and by financial problems, together with the care and responsibility of keeping several grandchildren, the effort of managing her household and plantation under reduced circumstances with few servants, was far from easy. On September 25, 1792, she wrote Washington:

"My indisposition for some time past prevented my writing to you . . . finding myself better today, I shall en-

deavor to answer your request of my taking Harriot to stay with me this winter. I shall have no objection to her being with me if she comes well clothed or provided to get them. . . . A little money laid out in clothes at this time may be an advantage. I am sorry it will not be in my power to advance any, having at this time three of my grandchildren to support, and God knows, from every account but I may expect as many more, shortly. (Fielding is so distressed, that his children would go naked if it was not for the assistance I give him.) I am happy to hear by Howell that you and my Sister keep in good health, I sincerely wish a continuance of it.

"I never had a more sickly family in my life than I have had this fall. I shall set out in a few days to see my daughter Betty Carter in Albemarle. I think the change of air may be of service. I shall return in a few weeks, when I shall be glad to see Harriot. Present my love to my sister and the rest of the family, and accept the sincere good wishes of your affectionate sister, etc."[30]

Writing from Mount Vernon twelve days later, Washington replied to Mrs. Lewis's letter:

"As Mrs. Washington and myself expect to set out tomorrow for Philadelphia . . . I have taken advantage of the good opportunity afforded by Mr. Robert Lewis, of sending Harriet to Fredericksburg. It is done at this time (notwithstanding your proposed visit to Albemarle), 1st because it would be improper to leave her here after we are all gone; 2nd, because there would be no person to accompany her down afterwards; and 3rd, because it might be inconvenient for her to travel alone. She comes, as Mrs. Washington informs me, very well provided with every-

thing proper for a girl in her situation. . . . I shall continue to do for her what I have already done for seven years past; and that is, to furnish her with such reasonable and proper necessaries as she may stand in need of. . . . Harriet has sense enough, but no disposition to industry, nor to be careful with her clothes. Your example and admonition, with proper restraints may overcome the last two; and to that end I wish you would examine her clothes and direct her in their use and application of them, (for without this they will be, I am told, dabbed about in every hole and corner and her best things always in use . . .), but she is young, and with good advice may yet make a fine woman. . . .

"Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes for the perfect restoration of your health, and every other blessing, I am, etc."[31]

Harriot Washington had spent more than a year with her aunt at Kenmore when Betty Lewis wrote to Washington on September 24, 1793, of the trials she had endured:

"The sickness in my family has prevented my writing sooner. My daughter [Betty] Carter has been extremely ill, but is at this time better, and myself, owing to great fatigue, am scarcely able to attend [the sick].

"Harriot wishes to know what time it will be convenient for you to send for her. Were it convenient for me to keep her, I know of no [one] that I would sooner have to live with me, but my income is so small and with few servants . . . I cannot afford it. I am obliged to buy everything that I eat, with the addition of soap, candles, etc., in short, the most trifling things made use of in the house, and my income so small that I find it a hard matter to live and keep out of debt. It is a confinement to me, as I have only two

horses to my carriage. . . . I cannot go to visit at any distance as I have two grandchildren living with me that I am obliged to carry with me.

"I shall be glad to hear from you by the first stage, as I intend, as soon as my daughter [Betty] Carter leaves this, to go up the country, if this place continues so sickly. The family all join in love to you and my sister Washington. I am, dear Brother, etc."[32]

Under the training of her aunt, Harriot Washington must have developed and improved in habits of neatness. "Your kind present to Harriot came safe to hand, she values it more as it comes from Philadelphia and expects it is more fashionable," wrote Betty Lewis to Washington on February 9, 1794. ". . . I can assure you she is truly deserving of the favors received, I am not acquainted with anyone who takes more care of their things and turns them to greater advantage.

". . . I wish you to give Howell some advice how to proceed in regard to two negroes that ran away from me a few days before Christmas, two of the principal hands on the plantation. . . . The whole crop I made . . . last year was thirty barrels of corn, and a hundred and ten bushels of wheat. If I am so unfortunate as not to get the [men] again, I have no chance to make anything the ensuing year.

"I am joined by the girls in love and good wishes for you all."[33]

Two months later Betty Lewis wrote again to her brother in a letter dated April 13, 1794, in which she mentions "a very severe ague which confined me to the house for a fortnight, a complaint, though subject to in the fall, I never had in the spring of the year before this. It has reduced

me very much, but thank God, I am now able to see after my business again.

"I have now, my dear brother, to thank you for your kind present of a mule. . . . I am very happy to hear that you all keep your healths as it is reported that some die in that city of that fever which raged here last fall. I hope it is not true.

"Harriot got her money safe, for which she is much obliged to you. She joins me in love and best wishes for you and all our friends."[34]

The next letter from Betty Lewis to Washington which has come down to us was written on March 27, 1796, from Mill Brook, a plantation situated about thirteen miles from Fredericksburg. While no details are given, it is of great interest to know when and to what place Mrs. Lewis moved from her home in Fredericksburg:

Mill Brook
March 27, 1796

My dear Brother:

I am going to address you on a subject I am requested to do by Harriot. There is a young gentleman in Fredericksburg, paying his addresses to her, by the name of Andrew Parks, merchant in that town. She desires me to inform you that he is her choice if it meets with your approbation. He is one that is very much respected by all his acquaintance, he is a sober, sedate young man, and attentive to business. He says his fortune does not exceed thirty thousand pounds, but he has expectation of something very handsome. . . .

I have not received a line from you since I left town, which place I was obliged to quit as I should most certainly have been ruined had I continued there one year more. This place . . . is poor, but with the advantage of the mill, it will be of more advantage to me than the other.

Harriot joins me in love to you and my Sister Washington. I am, dear brother, your affectionate sister, etc.[35]

Washington sent an early reply to his sister's letter, written from Philadelphia (April 7, 1796):

"Your letter of the 27th Ulto. was enclosed to me by Mr. Parks in one from himself dated the 1st instant, on the same subject. . . .

"Having had no business to write to you upon, and being very much occupied by my public duties, are the only reasons I have been silent.

"I am persuaded you will enjoy more ease and quiet, and meet with fewer vexations where you now are, than where you did live. It is my sincere wish that you should do so and that your days may be happy; in these Mrs. Washington joins with Your most affectionate brother, etc."[36]

Although we cannot be certain, it was most likely that Betty Lewis referred to Kenmore in her letter to her brother, written on the twenty-seventh of March 1796, as "the place" which she "was obliged to quit," before moving to Mill Brook. Heavy burdens had fallen upon her shoulders after Colonel Lewis had sacrificed his fortune for the cause of liberty, and it is very clear that she had struggled valiantly against innumerable adversities. We may be certain that it was not for lack of love for the home where she had spent so many happy years, but for lack of means for keeping up the mansion and the plantation in the manner to which she had been accustomed, that she was forced to give them up.

One of her descendants wrote of Betty Lewis: "Like her 'Sister Washington,' who preferred the quiet of Mount Vernon to the stately receptions and levees of the republican court, she loved her peaceful country home, and never sought to share the homage paid her brother and his wife in the presidential mansion. Her whole life was devoted to the

care of her children and grandchildren and to the management of her estate, after her husband's death. That she was greatly beloved by Washington is evident from the regular correspondence kept up between them, and from his fondness for her children. . . ."[37]

The last letter from Betty Lewis to her brother which has come to us is addressed to General Washington, Philadelphia, and is dated Fredericksburg, July 29, 1796:

My dear Brother:

Your very affectionate letter of July 10th, I received the fourth day after the date . . . for which I beg you to receive my sincere thanks.

Harriot informed me she had written to you, and I expect to the same purpose. She was married the 15th of July and has gone to her brother's in Berkeley county. I expected to set off for Frederick county to visit my son Lawrence, in hopes a change of air may prove beneficial to me. The frequent attacks of ague and fever attended with cough keep me very weak, although I am much better than when I last wrote you.

My dear brother, it is with infinite pleasure I hear your intention of returning to your own home. There, I hope you will enjoy more satisfaction than you could possibly in public life. May wealth, health and happiness attend you in either position, is the sincere wish of all your friends. Howell joins me in love to yourself and my sister Washington.

Your affectionate sister, etc.[38]

Evidently Mrs. Lewis was far from well. Mill Brook was situated very close to the narrow Mattaponi River, and the "ague and fever" she mentions were probably caused by the mosquitoes from the river flats.

Charles Carter and his wife had bought a plantation called Western View in the high, rolling country of the adjoining county of Culpeper. We do not know just when Betty Lewis went for a prolonged visit to her daughter and

son-in-law. She must have expected to return, for all her household goods and chattels were left at Mill Brook. Long accustomed to help those she loved, it was no doubt in accordance with her desire to be useful that Betty Lewis ventured out of doors on a treacherous spring day. And she had no doubt had experience with the mill at Mill Brook, which she had written her brother was an "advantage" to her. According to one of her great-grandsons: "While she was superintending some work on a mill one stormy day, Mrs. Lewis contracted a cold, and died on the thirty first of March, 1797."[39]

A letter from George Lewis, written to his brother Fielding on the day of their mother's death, speaks volumes of the depth of his affection for his mother. The "little Nancy" to whom he refers was the seven-year-old daughter of Fielding Lewis, Jr., and his wife Ann (Nancy) Alexander. The child had evidently been cared for by her grandmother:

Mr. Carter's, Culpeper county
31st of March, 1797

Dear Brother:

The painful task of communicating to you the death of our dear and honored mother, falls to my lot, and I sincerely condole with you in the sensations which you must experience on this melancholy occasion. But a moment's reflection will bring to our remembrance that it is a debt which we all have to pay, one day or another, and that our dear parent is only gone but a few moments before us.

You will, no doubt be anxious to know what is to be done with poor little Nancy. She is in good health, and at present with Sister Carter, where it was intended by mother, had she not have died, to have left her for some time for the advantage of her education, Mr. Carter having a teacher in his family, and I have not a doubt but she will receive all the care and attention that she has all along experienced from the dearest and best of women.

The family one and all, unite in love to Sister Lewis and the family, and accept the best wishes of

Your affectionate brother

George Lewis[40]

Another letter must have been written at the same time to his uncle. Washington wrote to George Lewis from Mount Vernon, April 9, 1797:

"The melancholy of your writing has filled me with inexpressible concern. The debt of nature however, sooner or later must be paid by us all. . . . It must have been a consoling circumstance to my deceased sister, that so many of her friends were about her."[41]

Betty Lewis was buried in the Carter family graveyard at Western View. After the passing of many years, her grave was marked, on June 7, 1928, with a flat granite tombstone of such shape and general design as was commonly used at the time of her death. It is surrounded by a protective iron fence, and the marker is inscribed:

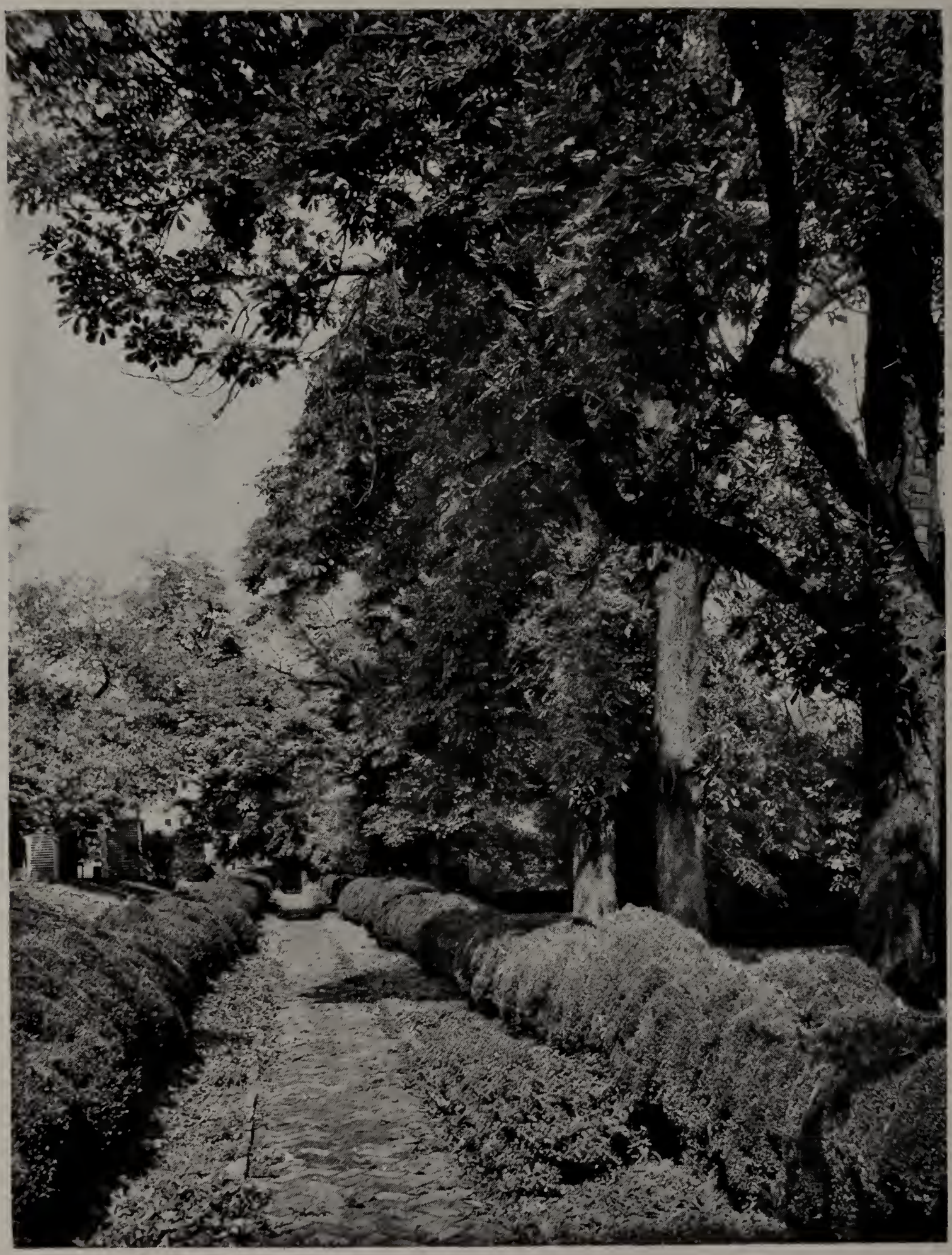
SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
MRS. BETTY WASHINGTON LEWIS
WHO WAS THE WIFE OF
COL. FIELDING LEWIS
AND THE SISTER OF
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
DIED AT WESTERN VIEW, CULPEPER COUNTY
MARCH 31, 1797

ERECTED BY THE CULPEPER MINUTE MEN CHAPTER
D.A.R.

Six years before she died Mrs. Lewis had written her last will and testament, in all probability at Kenmore. It was found carefully enclosed in a paper wrapper in a leather wallet, lettered in ink on the outside cover, *Betty Lewis's Book:*



View from the portico on eastern front of Kenmore



Brick walk bordered with box bushes, ivy, and periwinkle on grounds to the east of the mansion

"In the name of God, Amen. I Betty Lewis of the County of Spotsylvania, now in perfect health, but being old, and not expecting to live long, do make this, my Last Will and Testament. . . . I give to my daughter Betty Carter, my gold watch, and the secretary sent me by Mr. James Maury, with all my wearing apparel, rings, earrings and necklace, with the beads and furniture given to me by my brother George.

"I give to my son George, the mahogany desk of drawers made by George Allen, with my gold seal. 4thly, my chariot and household furniture of every kind, and all Bond, with what money is left after paying my just debts,—horses and stock of all kinds, to be equally divided between my children Fielding, George, Betty, Lawrence, Robert, Howell."[42]

We find in Timothy Alden's *Collection of Epitaphs* a tribute to Betty Lewis: "Mrs. Fielding Lewis, the relict of Fielding Lewis, was a lady of eminent worth. She was distinguished by all those virtues which characterize a beautiful daughter, a tender bosom companion, an affectionate and sincere friend and obliging neighbor. She felt the power, enjoyed the comforts, and exhibited the excellency of the Christian religion, of which she was long a public professor. She died at the age of sixty four years, in the arms of her daughter Mrs. Carter, at the family seat in Culpeper county, and entered into rest which the glorious Redeemer has prepared for the people of God. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."[43]

CHAPTER XV

The Lewis Children

It has been said that George Washington's affections overflowed toward his relatives. The greatest intimacy and warmest affection existed between him and his sister Betty Lewis. In no way is this more plainly shown than in the assistance Washington gave his sister after the death of Colonel Lewis. Not only did he become her counselor and guide, but he provided employment at different times for her three youngest sons and invited them to live in his home as members of his own family. According to Dr. Charles Moore, "his character and affection were a potent influence for good in the lives of more than a score of young men and maidens who were directly the beneficiaries of his care and of his purse as well."[1]

Robert Lewis was a member of the presidential household both in New York and in Philadelphia when he served as one of Washington's private secretaries.[2] Some years later he had charge of his uncle's rent collections in Frederick County.[3] Robert's devotion to Washington is expressed

in a letter written to him from Spring Hill, March 3, 1798: "We have ever determined, should it please God to give us a son, to call him after you, not only from our relative situation, but from a principle of gratitude for your beneficence. . . . Your much obliged, and very affectionate nephew, etc."[4] Robert Lewis served several terms as mayor of Fredericksburg, and many times, like his father before him, he was elected vestryman and warden of St. George's Church. As chief magistrate of the town, he made the welcoming speech on the second visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to Fredericksburg in the year 1824.[5] In his will Robert Lewis left the following directions: "I leave to my grandson Robert Lewis McGuire my gold watch which belonged to his great-grandfather Fielding Lewis, with an earnest request that he will not part with it."[6]

The Richmond *Daily Whig* of January 22, 1829, published the following: "Died, on the 17th instant, after a lingering illness, Robert Lewis, Esq. Mayor of Fredericksburg, in the 60th year of his age."

It was not Washington's custom to have a young married man as his secretary. After Robert Lewis's marriage, Washington wrote to Betty Lewis on April 8, 1792, from Philadelphia:

"My dear Sister: If your son Howell is living with you, and not usefully employed in his own affairs, and should incline to spend a few months with me as a writer in my office . . . I will allow him at a rate of three hundred dollars a year, provided he is diligent in discharging the duties of it. . . . He will live in the family in the same manner his brother Robert did. . . . I take it for granted that he writes a fair and legible hand. . . . That I may be able to judge of his fitness,

let him acknowledge the receipt of this letter with his own hand and say whether he will accept the offer here made him or not. . . . If . . . I find him qualified . . . I will . . . desire him to come on . . . without a moment's delay, etc."[7]

Howell took up his residence in Philadelphia and was a member of President Washington's household there for more than a year.[8] After the resident manager of Mount Vernon died in 1793, Washington sent Howell Lewis to Mount Vernon to assume the responsibility of managing the estate for a period of six months, until a permanent man was found for the position.[9] Two years later Howell Lewis was married to Ellen Hackley Pollard at Richmond, Virginia. They made their home for several years in Culpeper County. Washington in his will left 1531 acres of his western lands on the Kanawha River to Howell Lewis.[10] It was upon these lands that in 1812 Howell Lewis established himself and his family, and there they resided until his death in 1822.

A short time after his retirement from the presidency, and soon after the death of Betty Lewis, Washington wrote to Lawrence Lewis from Mount Vernon, August 4, 1797: ". . . Whenever it is convenient to you to make this place your home, I shall be glad to see you at it for that purpose and that there may be no misunderstanding in the matter, I shall inform you beforehand that you, servant (if you bring one) and horses, will fare in all respects, as we and mine do. . . . As both your aunt and I are in the decline of life, and regular in our habits especially in our hours of rising and going to bed, I require some person (fit and proper), to ease me of the trouble of entertaining company, particularly of nights. . . . In taking these duties off my hands it would render me a very acceptable service. And . . . an hour in the day now

and then devoted to the recording of some papers . . . would also be acceptable . . . etc."[11]

When Lawrence Lewis became a member of the family at Mount Vernon as half secretary and half guest, he was thrown into close association with Mrs. Washington's grandchildren. Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, the children of John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor Calvert, had come to live at Mount Vernon after the death of their father, and had brought much youthful gaiety and interest into the home with their presence. Nelly Custis possessed rare winsomeness and charm; everyone speaks of the delicate high-bred beauty which distinguished this favorite granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. She was approaching womanhood when a foreign traveler described her as "one of those celestial beings so rarely produced by nature, sometimes dreamt of by poets and painters, whom one cannot see without a feeling of ecstasy."[12] Naturally Lawrence Lewis was attracted to the lovely girl, and a serious love affair between the two young people inevitably resulted in their engagement.

Dr. Charles Moore observes: "Nothing, absolutely nothing, could have pleased General Washington more than the marriage of Nelly Custis to Lawrence Lewis, the son of his dearly beloved sister."[13] Washington became guardian of Nelly about a month before her wedding in order to authorize a license for the marriage, since she was only nineteen. The wedding was celebrated very quietly at Mount Vernon on Washington's last birthday, February 22, 1799. He briefly recorded the event with an entry in his diary on that day: "Miss Custis was married about candlelight to Mr. Lawrence Lewis."[14] We are told that she had desired Washington,

whom she idolized, to wear his "splendidly embroidered" new regimentals to her wedding, but was equally pleased when he came to the ceremony attired in his familiar Continental uniform of buff and blue.[15] We may be certain that had Betty Lewis lived long enough to know of the marriage of her son to her brother's beloved adopted daughter her cup of happiness would have been filled to overflowing.

Lawrence and Nelly Lewis continued to live at Mount Vernon after their marriage. Their first child was born there in November only a fortnight before the death of General Washington on the fourteenth of December 1799.[16] They remained at Mount Vernon during the two years and five months that Mrs. Washington lived there as a widow, and started building their new home, Woodlawn, one of the stateliest of the manor houses of the upper Potomac. It is set on a tract of two thousand acres which was that part of the Mount Vernon estate that Washington had bequeathed to them in his will.[17] After living thirty years at Woodlawn, the Lawrence Lewis family moved to Audley, the famous estate in what was at that time Frederick (now Clarke) County. Lawrence Lewis was one of the active executors of Washington's estate, and devoted a great deal of time to the settlement of the provisions named in the will. He died in 1839 and, as a member of the Washington family, his body was placed in the vault at Mount Vernon.

As early as 1751 when the land was surveyed, Colonel Fielding Lewis had purchased 3078 acres lying on the Shenandoah River from Robert Carter Nicholas, Esquire. In his will he devised one thousand acres each to his sons Fielding and Lawrence, and the remainder to his son George.[18] Thus it came about that three of the sons of Colonel and Mrs.

Lewis resided at various periods in Frederick (now Clarke) County on the land which they had inherited. Moreover Colonel Lewis's son-in-law Edward Carter and his wife, Betty Lewis Carter, purchased North Hill in Frederick County in the year 1807, an estate upon which they spent their later years.

If one may judge by the inventory of the estate of Fielding Lewis, Jr., he maintained a luxurious establishment in Frederick County. "The large spring near which his house stood was known as Lewis Spring. His plantation was bought by Captain Thomas Byrd, who built upon it his home called The Cottage."[19] Fielding Lewis, Jr. must have been an especial favorite with his grandmother, Mrs. Washington. In her will she left him, besides a Negro man, Frederick, ". . . eight silver teaspoons, half of my crockery ware, and the blue and white china, with book case, oval table, one bedstead, one pair sheets, one pair blankets, and white cotton counterpane, two tablecloths, six red leather chairs, half my pewter and one half my iron kitchen furniture,"[20] which was more than any of her other grandsons received.

Fielding Lewis, Jr., served during the Revolution as a captain in Colonel George Baylor's Regiment of Dragoons. Although his name does not appear on the Army Register or any of the rolls of officers of the Virginia Continental Line, certain letters in the archives of the Virginia State Library confirm the fact of his service. Lawrence Lewis wrote to Mr. Henry Dade from Woodlawn, March 8, 1833: "I accidentally found a bundle of old letters to my brother Fielding Lewis. . . . I found the enclosed which I think evidently establishes the fact that he was in active service and considered one of Baylor's most active recruiting officers,

and that he was Captain in his regiment." The "bundle of old letters" included an original account of Captain Fielding Lewis with Colonel George Baylor showing "Bounty paid 12 Recruits, cash paid for 8 horses, to moving soldiers from Frederick county to Fredericksburg, etc." And also two original letters from Colonel Baylor to young Fielding Lewis with reference to enlisting men. One letter was addressed to "Captain Fielding Lewis of the Light Dragoons" from "Quarters in Camp, November 15, 1777." In closing the letter Colonel Baylor wrote: "Pray write me by every opportunity letting me know what prospect you have of getting the remainder of the Regiment. . . . Offer my particular compliments to your Father and Family. I am, with the highest esteem and friendship, etc." The Public Service Claims of Frederick County show that Fielding Lewis, Jr., furnished supplies for the Revolutionary Army by "procuring a supply of provisions for the use of the Army in the county of Frederick," and "hath delivered to us four hundred and thirty six pounds of Neat Beef . . . 10th day of September, 1780."[21]

It was probably when on a visit to her brother Lawrence at Audley that Betty Lewis Carter died. A notice of the event was published in the Richmond *Whig* on April 27, 1830: "Died, at Audley in Frederick county, Virginia, on the 9th instant, relict of Charles Carter, Esquire, and niece of the late General George Washington, in the 65th year of her age, after a long, painful illness, but greatly alleviated by the kind attentions of her numerous friends and neighbors." Betty Lewis Carter was buried at North Hill, the plantation upon which she and her husband had resided.

Her will is recorded in the Clerk's Office of Frederick County at Winchester, Virginia.[22]

John Lewis, son of Colonel Fielding Lewis and his first wife Catharine Washington, was active during the Revolution in making powder for the use of the Continental forces.[23] After his father's retirement as commissioner of the gun factory he assisted Major Charles Dick in that enterprise.[24] John Lewis was a member of the Common Council of the town of Fredericksburg. The minutes of that organization bear record July 11, 1787: "Ordered that Mr. John Lewis's resignation be accepted. James Munroe, Gentleman [afterward President Monroe] was balloted for and appointed member of this board as Common Council man in stead of Mr. John Lewis."[25]

John Lewis was married five times. He married, first, Lucy Thornton; secondly, Elizabeth Thornton; third, Elizabeth Jones; fourth, Mary Ann (Fontaine) Armistead; fifth, Mildred Ann (Carter) Mercer.[26] John Lewis moved to Kentucky about the year 1811, where he made his permanent residence.

In his will, after making certain specific bequests, Washington directed that the residue of his estate be divided into twenty-three equal parts. After leaving certain parts to other nephews and nieces, the will continues: "To Fielding Lewis, George Lewis, Robert Lewis, Howell Lewis and Betty Carter, sons and daughter of my deceased sister Betty Lewis I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them."[27] George Lewis received one of the five famous swords which Washington bequeathed to five of his nephews.

CHAPTER XVI

Vicissitudes of Kenmore

According to the will of Fielding Lewis, his eldest son John Lewis, after the death of his stepmother, was to come into possession "of all my lands in Spotsylvania county and in the town of Fredericksburg."[1]

Eighteen days after the death of Betty Lewis in 1797, John Lewis and his wife sold eleven hundred acres to John James Maund.[2] On March 22, 1799, Maund conveyed 1100 acres to Seth Barton of Baltimore.[3] For fourteen years Mr. Barton was the owner of the Kenmore plantation and he is said to have been the first occupant of the mansion after it was sold. In his will, probated January 3, 1814, Barton directed that his executors sell all his property and divide the proceeds among his children. Timothy Alden wrote of Mrs. Mary Washington in his book of epitaphs, published in 1814: ". . . she was buried on a beautiful swell of land which belonged to her son in law Colonel Fielding Lewis, and which is now in the possession of the family of the late Seth Barton."[4]

On February 1, 1815, the executors of Seth Barton's estate conveyed one thousand acres, adjoining the western line of the town of Fredericksburg, to John T. Thornton.[5] It appears that the first division of the Kenmore property took place during the Thornton ownership. A deed recorded in the Clerk's Office in Fredericksburg shows that on December 20, 1819, John T. and Susan H. Thornton sold two hundred acres and three roods to Samuel Gordon of the town of Falmouth.[6] From a great-grandson of Samuel Gordon we learn: "My great grandfather Samuel Gordon was born in Kirkcudbright, Scotland in 1759, at his family estate 'Lochdongan.' He came to Virginia in 1783 and settled in Falmouth where he married Miss Susan Fitzhugh Knox in 1798, and some time afterward acquired Kenmore. He died at Kenmore in 1843 and is buried in the graveyard which was originally part of the Lewis estate, in a spot near the Mary Washington monument."[7] Samuel Gordon left to his wife "all lots and lands I now hold in the town of Fredericksburg . . . to my son Wm K. Gordon and his heirs at the death of his mother, all lots and lands left to her."[8] The Gordon family owned Kenmore for forty years. They made it their home and loved and cared for it, and there is a long-standing tradition that it was the Gordons who gave the name of Kenmore to the Lewis mansion. That name appears first upon the records of the District Court in Fredericksburg when, in 1859, William K. and Eliza Gordon conveyed "Kenmore Farm" to Franklin Slaughter.[9] The definite subdivision of Kenmore Farm is shown to have taken place immediately after Mr. Slaughter became its owner. We find him selling various numbers of acres belonging to the estate to different persons in 1860, and it was to H. C. Harrison that "Kenmore, being

Block 38 in the subdivision of Kenmore Farm," was conveyed.[10] According to Mrs. Fleming, the federal forces used Kenmore as a hospital during the War Between the States. After that it was a male academy. In 1867 Kenmore became the property of Levi Beardsley, who sold it three years later to William S. Barton.[11] When in 1881 Kenmore was purchased by Mr. William Key Howard of Maryland, the place was in a deplorable condition.[12] It is well known that Fredericksburg was directly under fire during the War Between the States. Kenmore did not escape, and considerable damage had befallen the ornamental plaster work of the ceilings. Young William K. Howard, Jr., urged his father to allow him to repair them. When scaffoldings were built, the frail, artistic lad worked long and patiently, making models from the original stucco-work designs and putting in numberless replacements. Kenmore was owned by the Howards for several generations; with taste and skill and beautiful colonial furnishings, they brought back the old-time atmosphere to the Lewis home.

William Key Howard, Jr., inherited the Kenmore property from his father. In 1905 the mansion was bought by Mr. Clarence R. Howard, who, with his family, lived in Kenmore until 1914, when Mr. Howard sold the property to Conway Gordon and the Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg.[13] On November 28, 1914, Kenmore was sold to E. G. Heflin and John F. Gouldman, Jr., and in 1919 Mr. Heflin became the sole owner of the property.[14]

Before many months had passed, it became known that the owner was planning to use Kenmore for commercial purposes.

Fortunately there was living in Fredericksburg a lady

who was deeply concerned with the preservation of the old mansion. Born in Athens, Georgia, the daughter of William N. White and his wife Rebecca Benedict, Emily White was reared in an atmosphere of culture and refinement. She was educated at Lucy Cobb Institute where she was primarily interested in the subject of history. After her marriage to a young Virginian, Vivian Minor Fleming, the Flemings came to make their home in Fredericksburg, Virginia, some eighteen years after the War Between the States.

Mrs. Fleming could scarcely have found a more favorable environment for pursuing her favorite study than in the historic old city of Fredericksburg. As she walked along the picturesque streets, many of whose names are reminiscent of colonial days, she discovered that a number of the ancient trees and ivy-covered buildings had borne witness of episodes and events which have played an important part in the history of the nation.

Mrs. Fleming learned from her neighbors that directly across the Rappahannock River on the Stafford County side from her new home on Caroline Street was Ferry Farm, where the family of Augustine Washington had lived. Certain elderly ladies in the town remembered hearing their grandmothers tell of crossing the ferry to spend the day with Mrs. Mary Washington. There was the story of a little girl who accompanied her mother on one of these visits, and during their stay Mrs. Washington had her servant set out a round loaf of bread which had been baked over the coals in a Dutch oven. After the crust or "kissing piece" was removed, a slice of bread was cut and spread with blackberry jam, to the great enjoyment of the child.[15] Sometimes Mrs. Washington served her guests with the gingerbread for

which she was noted, the recipe of which had been kept in Fredericksburg and was given to Mrs. Fleming.

As she absorbed the inspiring traditions, Mrs. Fleming felt keenly the importance of restoring and preserving the valuable shrines in Fredericksburg. She became a charter member and later president of the Fredericksburg branch of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and it was largely through her efforts that the Rising Sun Tavern was restored. She was made president of the Fredericksburg branch of the Mary Washington Monument Association, and gave her aid and influence toward the placing of the present monument. These places and many others relating to the historic and political life of America filled Mrs. Fleming with a desire for greater knowledge of the town in which she lived. She spent much time in study and research, and was assisted in her work by her husband. It was natural for their only child, Annie, to absorb the interest felt by her parents in the traditions of the past, and she became inspired by their enthusiasm.

Kenmore had always held especial interest for Mrs. Fleming from the time she became acquainted with its history, particularly because of its association with the Washington family. Even in its changed condition, she appreciated the beauty and dignity of the old mansion, and its restoration was her cherished dream.

In January 1921 a notice appeared in the Fredericksburg *Daily Star* in which the owner of the Kenmore property stated: "Having decided to sub-divide 'Kenmore Court' and believing . . . that labor conditions are now at the best, I have decided to build at once . . . six or more modern up-to-date residences on Kenmore." The houses were built and

the fact of their being on the Kenmore property was lamented by many citizens of the town.

In the year 1922 the destruction of the old Lewis home became imminent. The owner advertised the place for sale, the grounds were cut up into building lots and some of them sold. The house was to be dismantled and the building remodeled into apartments, or ruthlessly leveled to the ground and destroyed. There was great consternation in Fredericksburg over the proposed desecration, and the matter was widely discussed. Several attempts were made to arouse public interest and to raise funds for the purchase of Kenmore, but they proved unsuccessful. The place appeared to be doomed, and the thought of this impending disaster haunted Mrs. Fleming day and night.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Virginia regent of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, came to Fredericksburg on March 13, 1922, for the purpose of organizing a chapter of that society in the town. In her address before a group of ladies upon that occasion Mrs. Barrett said: "No town in this whole country has been so closely associated with Revolutionary days as has yours. Those patriots, soldiers, and statesmen thought and planned and worked and fought with no singleness of purpose, but for the generations to come, and for the general good of all."[16] Mrs. Barrett asked Mrs. Fleming to become organizing regent for the proposed chapter of the society. Mrs. Fleming was sixty-eight years old at the time, small of stature, and with the handicap of deafness, but also with a determined spirit. She asked for time to think the matter over. Early next morning she arose and went to her daughter saying, "Words

flashed into my mind in the night as if they had been written on a screen—THIS IS OUR CHANCE TO SAVE KENMORE!"

Mrs. Fleming accepted the appointment as regent of the Washington-Lewis Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It was organized with fifteen members, and with Mrs. C. O'Connor Goolrick as vice-regent. This chapter resolved that its first work would be the effort to save Kenmore.

When negotiations for the purchase of Kenmore were taken up with the owner, and he was asked for an option on the house, he replied, "My price is thirty thousand dollars, but I will give you the refusal of the place with four months' time, at the end of which I must be paid ten thousand dollars, or the deal is off. In the meantime if I get a satisfactory offer I reserve the right to sell outright, because other efforts to buy the house have not succeeded."

Mrs. Fleming was undaunted and accepted the terms of the owner as a challenge. Citizens of the town were grateful for Mrs. Fleming's leadership but were skeptical of her success. In spite of the skepticism of the owner of the house and many of the citizens of Fredericksburg, Mrs. Fleming went to work and put forth all her powers of persuasion in leaflets she wrote, setting forth plans for saving Kenmore. On April 18, 1922, the following article appeared in the Fredericksburg *Daily Star:* "The DAR of Fredericksburg have issued pamphlets as a start of a campaign to save Kenmore, the handsome old home on Washington Avenue built by Colonel Fielding Lewis for his bride Betty Washington, sister of George Washington. Because of its association with Washington, because of its historic interest, because of its beauty, the local chapter is making a nation wide appeal for aid in

restoring it as a permanent national monument. Mrs. H. H. Smith and Mrs. E. F. Birckhead, now in Washington, will bring the proposed effort to the attention of the National DAR Congress, now in session in that city."

As a result of the visit of the two ladies to Washington, sixteen prominent ladies came to Fredericksburg after the close of the D.A.R. Congress. After visiting Kenmore and hearing Mrs. Fleming's plans, they advised the forming of a Kenmore Association. Their suggestion was adopted, and the group of fifteen ladies who formed the Washington-Lewis Chapter of the D.A.R. organized the Kenmore Association, "a corporation founded for the purpose of acquiring and maintaining the building and grounds of Kenmore as a permanent monument." Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming was elected president of the association, and immediately the movement to save Kenmore was started. They chose for their slogan, "Help restore that which Washington helped to create."[17]

First of all Mrs. Fleming desired the support of the people of Fredericksburg. She felt if the citizens of the town would show their confidence in the effort to save Kenmore, others would more readily believe in it. She wrote an appeal which appeared on the first page of the Fredericksburg *Daily Star*, April 25, 1922: "Men like Mark Sullivan and Herbert Corey who have the confidence of the nation and know values, have said, that after Mount Vernon, Kenmore is our greatest national asset. . . . Our first payment has to be made the first of September, so it is up to Fredericksburg, and the friends of Fredericksburg, the DAR of Virginia, and our personal appeals and work, to make the first payment and save Kenmore. Then Kenmore will belong to us!" After describing the local purposes for which the mansion could be

used, she continued: "Fredericksburg is wonderful, her past is full of glory. It is unique in charm, and those things which make the charm must be preserved. So we expect every man, woman and child to come forward and show that in saving our Washington-Lewis home, they are rendering a great patriotic service for America."

The Kenmore drive was launched two months later when, on July 6, 1922, then Vice-President Calvin Coolidge and Mrs. Coolidge, Hon. R. Walton Moore, Dr. Charles Moore of the Fine Arts Commission, and a number of other distinguished men and women, came to Fredericksburg and started the campaign. For a week beforehand placards had been prominently displayed all over the town, announcing: "Kenmore Mass Meeting, Thursday at 8 P.M. This Meeting starts the campaign to save Kenmore." More than a thousand citizens gathered in the City Park on that Thursday evening for the out-of-door exercises. In the patriotic address with which he opened the campaign Mr. Coolidge said, "There is standing in this historic city of Fredericksburg a mansion built about 1752 by Colonel Fielding Lewis, the husband of Betty Washington, only sister of the first President. On its walls are frescoes designed by Washington himself. . . . Here he visited and was entertained with his friends, and here his mother often came during her declining years. Colonel Lewis was a patriot who sacrificed his fortune in supplying the Revolutionary forces with arms and ammunition. The mansion not only has these associations, but is a good example of colonial architecture, well fitted to rank in interest with the home of Jefferson, of Lee, and of Mount Vernon itself. It ought to be preserved for its own sake. It must be preserved for patriotic America."[18]

The visit of the Coolidges and other dignitaries brought forth national interest and the enterprise for saving Kenmore was proclaimed far and wide in the newspapers. The ladies of Fredericksburg redoubled their efforts; they came to regard the saving of Kenmore as a crusade. A weaker spirit than that of Mrs. Fleming would have been overcome by what seemed an unsurmountable task, but this extraordinary lady met it as a challenge for supreme effort. With more energy than seemed possible in so frail a person, she worked ceaselessly, with confident faith, amazing even those who knew her best.

Mrs. Fleming had a strong ally in her daughter, Mrs. Horace H. Smith, known to everyone as "Miss Annie," and the two women made a remarkable team. They wrote hundreds of letters by hand, stating facts about Kenmore in simple, forceful style, and making an appeal for help. Mrs. Fleming used to say, "I could write thirty-nine letters a day, and Annie forty-nine. We never had a typewriter until the campaign was over." In response to one of Mrs. Fleming's letters, Colonel I. N. Lewis, maker of the Lewis machine gun and a collateral descendant of Fielding Lewis, contributed the first thousand dollars to the Kenmore fund.

As enthusiasm for the campaign grew, different organizations in Fredericksburg held benefit parties and concerts were given at the schools. General and Mrs. Smedley Butler sponsored a card party at the Hostess House in Quantico for the benefit of Kenmore. Historic Marmion was opened to the public one evening during the summer of 1922 and the people of King George County contributed the supper. Mrs. Fleming secured permission from General Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., for the Marine Band from Quantico to furnish music for

the occasion. In order to secure funds to defray the expense of literature for the campaign, Mrs. Fleming had copies of Mary Washington's recipe for gingerbread printed on a small sheet, with the story of how it was served to General Lafayette on his visit to Fredericksburg in 1784. These she sold for a dime each, and in three years raised a thousand dollars from the sales.

The Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia gave a thousand dollars to the Kenmore fund. The town of Fredericksburg showed its interest in a substantial way. Through the heroic efforts of the determined group of Fredericksburg women, by the first of September sufficient funds had been raised in the five months to pay the first installment on the purchase of Kenmore. The Kenmore Association paid twelve thousand dollars on account and secured the balance of eighteen thousand dollars. The owner of the house was so deeply impressed by the manner in which the people had worked that he made a gift of two thousand dollars to the association.

In the months that followed, the effort for saving Kenmore was no longer local; it became a national enterprise. Americans united to restore the shrine as an enduring testimonial.

After the first payment on Kenmore was made, money began to pour in. Men, women, and organizations all over the country gave their financial support to the enterprise. Responses to letters were received from coast to coast, and for every gift received Mrs. Fleming wrote a personal acknowledgement.

No one anticipated that success would come in such a comparatively short time. Yet the vision, the courage, and the

hard work of the indefatigable group of women were rewarded, and that which had been considered impossible was accomplished. After thirty-two months of perseverance and untiring efforts, and without federal or state aid, the price for the purchase of Kenmore was raised. The enterprise was brought to a successful conclusion on the first day of January 1925. That snowy New Year's Day marked the transfer of the last thousand dollars of the purchase price of thirty thousand dollars, to the former owner, and the property passed into the possession of the Kenmore Association. The officers of the association met in the great room at Kenmore, under the famous mantel designed by George Washington, and held a simple service of thanksgiving.

Several months later thousands of visitors gathered in Fredericksburg on the ninth of May. Impressive exercises were held when the governor of Virginia and many other distinguished guests assembled, and Kenmore was dedicated as a national memorial to the glory of God and in memory of Colonel Fielding Lewis and his wife Betty Washington.

It was a gala occasion, with speeches, music, a parade, and general good-fellowship. It was said by many to have been one of the greatest days in the town's colorful history. Gallant cavaliers and lovely dames and damsels wearing colonial costumes walked or rode through the streets of old Fredericksburg. It was not difficult, in the picturesque surroundings which have retained so much of the flavor of olden times, to imagine oneself living in the early days of the colony.

Mrs. Fleming used to say, "After the house was paid for we had just started." Continuous efforts were undertaken for restoring the old Lewis home to its early beauty. Following the example which had been set by the citizens of Fredericks-

burg, patriotic citizens and individuals throughout the nation gave their support to the project for raising funds for the restoration and maintenance of Kenmore. In Chicago a benefit performance, under the guidance of the Illinois regent of Kenmore, brought eight thousand dollars to the restoration fund. This was used for rebuilding the kitchen on the original foundation.

Magnificent results were accomplished by the New York committee on the Kenmore Association on the evening of Saturday, April 13, 1929, when the performance of the opera *Manon* as a "Kenmore Benefit" brought to a close the season at the Metropolitan Opera House. In the cast were Lucrezia Bori, Beniamino Gigli, Giuseppe de Luca, and Leon Rothier. The list of patrons and patronesses for this Kenmore Benefit Opera contained names of many of those standing high on New York's social register, with Governor and Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Governor and Mrs. Harry Flood Byrd heading the list. The opera performance received widespread press comment; an editorial appeared in the New York *Times* on the twelfth of April under the caption "One of Virginia's Best":

"Kenmore, the home of George Washington's sister in Fredericksburg, Virginia, is more than an example of Virginia's architecture. To its historic associations is added the rare distinction that a portion of its interior decoration was designed from sketches made by Washington himself. . . . The fund for the restoration and maintenance of Kenmore is to be completed, so it is hoped, at a benefit performance of 'Manon' . . . on Saturday evening. Fortunately, Colonel Lewis's house and the grounds have already been acquired by the Kenmore Association and much of the restoration is

done. But Kenmore, like many historic Virginia houses, passed through a long period of tribulations and suffered many a change during the century after it was sold by Washington's sister. . . . In 1914 it was about to be demolished and the land broken up into suburban lots. Fortunately it escaped destruction, and in 1922 a group of ladies of the Daughters of the American Revolution obtained the money to buy it. But there was much to be done on it. This has proceeded slowly but satisfactorily. That interest in such a task is more than local may be seen . . . from the support given to this . . . project. Americans are beginning to realize that they possess in houses such as Kenmore, Westover and Monticello—to mention but three—places of great beauty as well as of historic association. . . . By preserving such places and by restoring Kenmore and Williamsburg, the settings of one of the great epochs of American history are being enshrined."

The proceeds resulting from the benefit performance at the Metropolitan amounted to more than ten thousand dollars, which was applied toward the restoration of Kenmore.[19]

CHAPTER XVII

Restoration

AFTER the purchase of Kenmore was accomplished, plans were outlined for proceeding with the complete restoration of the mansion. With this purpose in mind the Kenmore Association secured the services of Mr. Frank C. Baldwin, F.A.I.A., Mr. Edward Donne, Jr., F.A.I.A., with Mr. Philip Stern, A.I.A., associated as architect in active charge of construction. Mr. Charles O. Cornelius, then associate curator of the Metropolitan Museum in New York City, agreed to serve as adviser. No persons could have been more sympathetic than these gentlemen, who made every effort to restore the mansion precisely as it was in the time of the Lewises.

Changes had befallen the old Lewis home during the years. Through abuse and neglect, and from various additions, the mansion had lost part of its ancient dignity. A modern town had sprung up on what were the original holdings of Colonel Fielding Lewis's estate. Houses had been built closer and closer to what remained of his property, which at

the time of the restoration had dwindled to a city block. According to a member of the Gordon family who was born at Kenmore in 1820, the dependencies on either side of the mansion had been taken down during the occupancy of the Gordons. Brick was scarce at the time and the bricks from one of the outbuildings were used to build a bank in the town; bricks from the other were used for building a kitchen attached to the mansion. All of the boxwood on the place was destroyed because it was thought to create malaria.

The fine old trees on the grounds had suffered from neglect, and grass had almost disappeared from the lawn. The faded yellow paint covering the brick walls of the house had peeled off in great patches, giving the place a forlorn aspect.

The work on the mansion and outbuildings was started in the spring of 1930. The first step toward restoration was to replace the detached buildings which originally flanked the mansion on the north and the south. Before work was started on construction of the dependency to the south, which was the first undertaking, the original foundations were found and used for determining the size and location. According to tradition, the rooms in this building were used by the Lewis family for school and office purposes. The bedrooms on the second floor are said to have been used by the Lewis boys when they became older, and for extra guests.

As it was an established fact that the brick kitchen wing attached to the north end of the mansion, with its brick arches to the west, was a later addition, the next step was to remove this wing and restore the old detached kitchen. In excavating for a cellar for this building, an old brick foundation was disclosed, with indications which showed very clearly a large central chimney with an immense fireplace

facing east, and a smaller one facing west. The large fireplace and chimney of the restored kitchen are located on the exact spot of the old ones, with the room to the east used as the kitchen and the smaller room, to the west as evidenced by the old foundations, now made fireproof and used for a private office.

After the completion of both dependencies, the restoration of the mansion was undertaken, with every effort used toward making the old building structurally sound. Upon investigation it was found to be in excellent condition, with some few minor exceptions. Where rain water had penetrated at the east and west exterior entrances, the ends of the floor joists had rotted away. New supporting brick walls were built at these two places, inside and against the old wall, so as not to have to remove the old joists, thus leaving the effect of the old hand-hewn joists unchanged. The chimneys, which were found to be unsound above the roof, were taken down and rebuilt. Some of the brickwork under the window sills, and at the corners where the rain had washed out the mortar joints, was pointed up. Old brick of the same size and color as the original ones was used for the necessary patching. Where some few molded bricks were required, these were cut by hand on the job to match the old ones.

Precaution was taken to strengthen the floors on the second floor of the house, for fear that in opening the second floor to visitors the vibration caused by people walking around might cause the ornamental plaster ceilings on the first floor to fall. As a preventative, pieces of flooring were removed on the second floor, and the first-floor ceiling was tied and anchored to the second-floor joists wherever possible by means of wires and plaster of paris.

Restoration

In order to remove all new work and to put back all of the old work, a wooden porch on the south end of the house, being used for a bath and known to be a later addition, was removed and replaced by an exterior door and old stone steps. Another bath, which had been added at the east end of the hall on the second floor, was also removed, and the hall again opened up all the way through. At the time this was done it was found that the doors leading to the two east bedrooms had been moved when the bathroom was installed. These doors were put back in their original locations.

The architects found that the small bedroom at the southwest corner on the second floor was originally smaller, as a cross partition had taken off about two feet from the east side of the room to permit a narrow stairway to lead from the room closet to the attic. This had all been moved, but was restored and corrected. The smaller sections of all the second-story shutters had been changed from solid panels to slats. The solid panels were restored and new butterfly hinges and hooks made to match the original ones. Indeed, where any hardware was missing or substituted, the old hardware was carefully copied or original old pieces were acquired. It was found necessary to replace some of the wood window sills and sash muntins, but no new frames or sash were needed. A modern oak floor which had been substituted in the great room was removed and a pine flooring of the same random width as the other old floors was used. The old floors in the other rooms and halls were left, and only minor repairs were found necessary.

All of the fireplaces had been made smaller. These were all opened up to their original sizes, and where the old stone hearths had been destroyed, new hearths were put in of the

same Aquia stone as was used when the house was constructed.

The ornamental plaster ceilings had lost some of their ornaments and many pieces were loose and ready to fall. With the aid of skilled Italian and Scotch workmen, new molds were made from the original pieces and new pieces were used to fill in all the missing ones, with all loose pieces carefully cemented back into place.

By scraping off the various layers of paint in the different rooms, many of the original tints were found. Great care was taken to reproduce the old colors as far as possible. On the outside of the building all paint was removed from the brickwork by a special process which did not injure the face of the brick and which revealed the lovely coloring of age. To further protect the brick and make the walls waterproof, they were given a treatment of hot paraffin under pressure.

In the work of restoration certain features such as heat, electric lighting, and fire protection, not in accordance with the methods used in earlier days, were of course necessary. The heating plant was placed under the kitchen outbuilding and from there piped underground to the mansion. As far as possible all radiation was concealed, except for the grilles in the walls or under the stairs. In place of permanent or attached electric light fixtures, electric convenience outlets were provided so that portable lamps could be plugged in and removed at will. The installation of a modern fire-alarm system which automatically sounds an alarm at a sudden rise of temperature induces a sense of security.[1]

As the interest in Kenmore became widespread, many gifts, including Washington and Lewis relics, were presented to the association. The furnishing and decoration of the man-

sion were carefully supervised by experts of unquestioned authority upon eighteenth-century furnishings. The Kenmore Association was fortunate in having as Adviser of Furnishings Mr. Charles O. Cornelius of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, whose knowledge of old buildings was very complete, and whose interest in and enthusiasm for Kenmore were deep and lasting. In a letter to the secretary of the association soon after the restoration was completed, Mr. Cornelius wrote: "I do think Kenmore is a beautiful house,—beyond words beautiful. We must get the great room and the library done perfectly, and very soon. I am anxious to have done the few things which will make the house attractive to visitors beyond its supremely historic interest. That, of course, is not dependent on how it looks, but is augmented by its appearance." It was through the influence of Mr. Cornelius that in 1931 the Metropolitan Museum made a loan, for an indefinite period, of a number of beautiful pieces of furniture to Kenmore.

Mrs. Harry Horton Benkard of Long Island was appointed Associate Adviser of Furnishings to Kenmore to assist Mr. Cornelius. Mrs. Benkard was one of the foremost amateur antiquarians and collectors of American decorative art. Her opinions were valued by professional staffs of numerous museums, for she combined a genuine interest with unfailing taste and critical judgment. The preservation of historic houses was a vital concern to her, and she was an active member of the furnishings committees of several important house museums.[2] She always wanted perfection for Kenmore and she gave generously of her time and strength toward the accomplishment of her ideals.

Nothing was placed in Kenmore without the approval

of the committee on furnishings. The entire collection is historically appropriate and entirely in keeping with furnishings used in the more elegant Tidewater homes of the day. There are no reproductions. With a few exceptions the furniture is American, and of Chippendale design. Special efforts were made to preserve the mansion as a home, without any commercial atmosphere.

At the time when the old Lewis mansion was being restored, the President and a group of members of the Garden Club of Virginia went to Fredericksburg and visited Kenmore on February 22, 1924. They admired the restoration taking place in the house, but deplored the neglected appearance of the grounds. Realizing how necessary it was to restore the setting for the house, they later presented to the Garden Club of Virginia the opportunity of sponsoring the restoration of the grounds of the home of Colonel Fielding Lewis and his wife Betty Washington. This appeal was made in such a forceful manner that an efficient committee was appointed for working out plans.

The committee retained Charles F. Gillette, F.A.S.L.A., of Richmond, Virginia, as landscape architect in charge of the restoration. After a visit to Kenmore, where a conference was held with Mr. James L. Greenleaf, then president of the American Society of Landscape Architects, Mr. Gillette made a survey and a planting plan. This plan was accepted by the Garden Club of Virginia, after which Mr. Gillette reported that the planting at Kenmore could be done for approximately five thousand dollars.

Confronted with the problem of raising so large a sum without taxing each club, the committee on restoring the

Kenmore grounds held lengthy discussions. A plan had been suggested, requesting the owners of historic places in different sections of Virginia to open their homes to visitors simultaneously. This plan met with hearty approval and was adopted, and thus the idea for Historic Garden Week in Virginia was born, with Kenmore its first beneficiary.

The interest shown in the first Historic Garden Tour in Virginia was much greater than anyone had dreamed. Many times the needed five thousand dollars was received from entrance fees, and the opportunity to do a proper restoration of the Kenmore grounds was at hand.

A meeting of the Committee on Restoration of Grounds was held at Kenmore, together with many experts in colonial restoration and landscape architecture. It was found that a true restoration of the grounds as they probably existed in the time of Colonel Fielding Lewis would be impossible since the boundaries at present were so restricted, a modern town having sprung up on what were the original holdings of the Lewis estate. Dr. Charles Moore was among the assembled experts at the meeting at Kenmore. These gentlemen suggested that a blueprint of the original estate be obtained from court records and that a plan be made from this which would eventually include the Mary Washington House. They recommended also that a plan for restoring the grounds at Kenmore be immediately carried out, and that the grounds be enclosed by a brick wall of appropriate design.

A search was made for the best design for a brick wall of the period. The wall around Ware's Church in Gloucester County was selected as a fine example and plans were drawn with the approval of the Fine Arts Commission in Washington, using this wall as inspiration. In making a contract for

building the wall, Mr. Gillette insisted upon procuring brick to match as nearly as possible the color and texture of the brick in the Kenmore house, as well as mortar and finish to match that of the house. The building of this wall is a distinct achievement, serving at once to frame the property as a picture, and to provide privacy and seclusion. In keeping out signs of modern days, it has preserved the atmosphere and flavor of Kenmore.

From the time the undertaking was started, it was the aim of the Garden Club of Virginia "that the planting about the house and grounds be dignified and elegant, befitting the lovely old mansion it frames and adorns." The reconstruction of the grounds was not done in an elaborate manner. The planting of trees and shrubs was done in the spirit of the day and special care was taken to retain the feeling of old Virginia places.

The old circular driveway around a grassy circle was retained as a sunken driveway to be used on special occasions. There was built a wide new walk of old handmade bricks, leading from the wrought-iron entrance gates directly to the mansion.

There were a number of magnificent old honey locust, horse chestnut, and ailanthus trees on the property which are believed to have stood there during the period when the Lewis family lived at Kenmore. The grounds abound also in holly trees, tulip poplars, oaks, elms, mimosas, and other fine shade trees which cast their shadows on the velvety grass.

Handsome specimen box bushes of great size make an appropriate setting for the mansion. A long brick walk, bordered with boxwood from near Warrenton, North Carolina, extends across the entire property below the terrace on

the eastern front of the mansion from north to south. The hedge of old English box has edgings of periwinkle. The walk has exits through gates at either end of the wall that connect with the streets at the sides of the property. In the springtime the air is laden with the fragrances of lilacs, mock orange, calycanthus, snowball, bridal wreath, and firebush, planted against the outbuildings and at the ends of the mansion. Planted in beds in front of the shrubs are pansies, sweet william, phlox, pinks, verbenas, lilies of the valley, and many other old-fashioned flowers dear to the heart of the housewife.

In old descriptions of the grounds at Kenmore in early days, two bowers or summerhouses were mentioned as having stood on the terrace before the eastern front of the mansion. In order to replace these bowers when the grounds were restored rather than design something new, the design of old summerhouses at Federal Hill in Fredericksburg was used, which was true to the period.[3]

Small-leaf ivy grows on the wall surrounding Kenmore, and against the wall are planted Virginia cedars, holly, boxwood, and a profusion of the flowering shrubs which grew in Virginia gardens of the colonial period. Besides these, the five-foot border around the wall is planted thickly with periwinkle and ivy, through which in the springtime appear thousands of yellow narcissi and jonquils.

At the time when the Kenmore property was purchased a row of city houses stood on the eastern boundary facing the street which bisects the walk once leading from the Lewis home to the home of Mary Washington. The Garden Club of Virginia could not carry out fully their plans for restoring the grounds, with the houses taking up so much valuable

space.[4] When the Kenmore Association was confronted with the problem of acquiring them, the chairman of Reclamation of Grounds[5] suggested the idea of selling the property, on which the houses stood, by the foot. This proved a profitable plan. After four of the houses were bought and paid for, two of them were moved away to other locations, and the Kenmore Association has profited from the income derived from their rental.

In 1940 the proceeds from another Historic Garden Tour were given to the Kenmore Association for the restoration of Betty Lewis's flower garden. The area formerly occupied by the city houses was made into four square box-edged grass plots in the center of which is a Southern magnolia, a typical pattern of the period. Until all of the property can be secured and other houses moved, temporary board fences were built and a garden made where flowers for decorating the mansion are abundantly grown. The box-enclosed borders contain columbine, flax, clove pinks, sweet william, daisies, bulbs, and lilies. Leading from the foot of the terrace at the center exits of Kenmore on the eastern front, a brick walk, overarched with ancient boxwood over twenty feet tall, ends in a gate in the wall toward the street, which in former days would have led to the home of Mary Washington.

An herb garden, patterned in the design of the gardens of the Lewises' day, was made in close proximity to the kitchen. Here, growing in great profusion, are mint, rosemary, thyme, sage, chives, lavender, sweet marjoram, tansy, and other herbs useful in the home.

After the work was entirely accomplished the completed grounds were turned over to the president of the Ken-

more Association by the chairman of the Kenmore Committee of the Garden Club of Virginia.[6] A bronze tablet placed on the brick wall near the entrance gate bears the inscription: "The restoration of the grounds of Kenmore, and the brick wall enclosing them, is the gift of the Garden Club of Virginia. Begun February 22, 1924. Completed February 22, 1932." When welcoming the governors of the Garden Club of Virginia to Kenmore, Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming said: "Each Garden Club in the state has contributed with interest and enthusiasm in reproducing Betty Washington Lewis's garden according to the best examples of the period in which she lived. According to tradition George Washington helped to plan his sister's garden. . . . In beautifying these places, you are carrying on a work which Washington began. In all that you of the Garden Club do to make Virginia beautiful . . . you are carrying out the wishes and plans of our great first President."[7]

CHAPTER XVIII

The Mansion

KENMORE, mellowed with age and now fully restored, stands two full stories high, flanked on either side by detached buildings, a notable type of mid-eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia architecture. The building has a frontage of fifty-three feet with a depth of forty-one feet. The unusual depth is more obvious here than in other buildings of similar depth because of the lack of wings. The relatively flat pitch of the gable roof was probably determined on in order to reduce the effect of height. A pair of sturdy chimneys rise high above the roof at either end of the mansion.

The walls are two feet thick, the brickwork Flemish bond. The brick belt defining the second story is of three plain courses of stretchers. Nine windows with wide box frames, spanned by segmental arches, are set in the façade. These are six lights high on the first floor, and five lights on the second, which is characteristic of houses of the period. The upper sash is stationary and is fitted tight against the top of the lower sash; the lower sash moves without weights and

when opened is held by wooden buttons. The wooden cornice has modillions and is finished at the ends with drops which roughly follow the profile of the cornice and which continue up the gable as rake boards.

The worn doorsteps leading to the main entrance of Kenmore give evidence of having borne the footsteps of many generations. The rectangular fanlight over the door opening into the main hall is a counterpart of the one directly opposite it over the door in the eastern entrance to the house. These doors have notable brass locks with handles or "pulls" which were used long before knobs. A distinguished feature of the eastern façade is the finely proportioned portico with gabled roof and white columns which overlooks the terraces and box-bordered walks leading to the garden.

In strong contrast to the simplicity of the exterior of Kenmore is the richly ornamented interior. Upon entering the mansion the rich architectural detail and rare furnishings reflect the elegance and dignity of an age of leisurely living.

The magnificent plaster-relief ceilings and overmantels of Kenmore form a series unparalleled in America for richness,[1] and have been called "the glory of the house." The character of the plaster designs is not in the complete Adams style but shows phases of the Georgian style of about 1750. These designs are symmetrical compositions of circular patterns in geometrically traced frames which enclose formally arranged rosettes, garlands, and swags in which classic motifs play a dominant part.

It is evident that a number of years elapsed between the building of the mansion and the execution of the plaster decorations and overmantels. Existing records furnish proof of the "stucco man" who executed the plaster work at Ken-

more, and establish evidence that the work was finished either before or during the year 1775, previous to the somewhat similar ornamentation done by the same workman at Mount Vernon. The following letters to Washington from Lund Washington, his kinsman and manager at Mount Vernon,[2] do not identify by name the artist, who was apparently an unusually slow workman:

September 29, 1775: "The stoco man is still about the dining room and will I fear, be for some time."

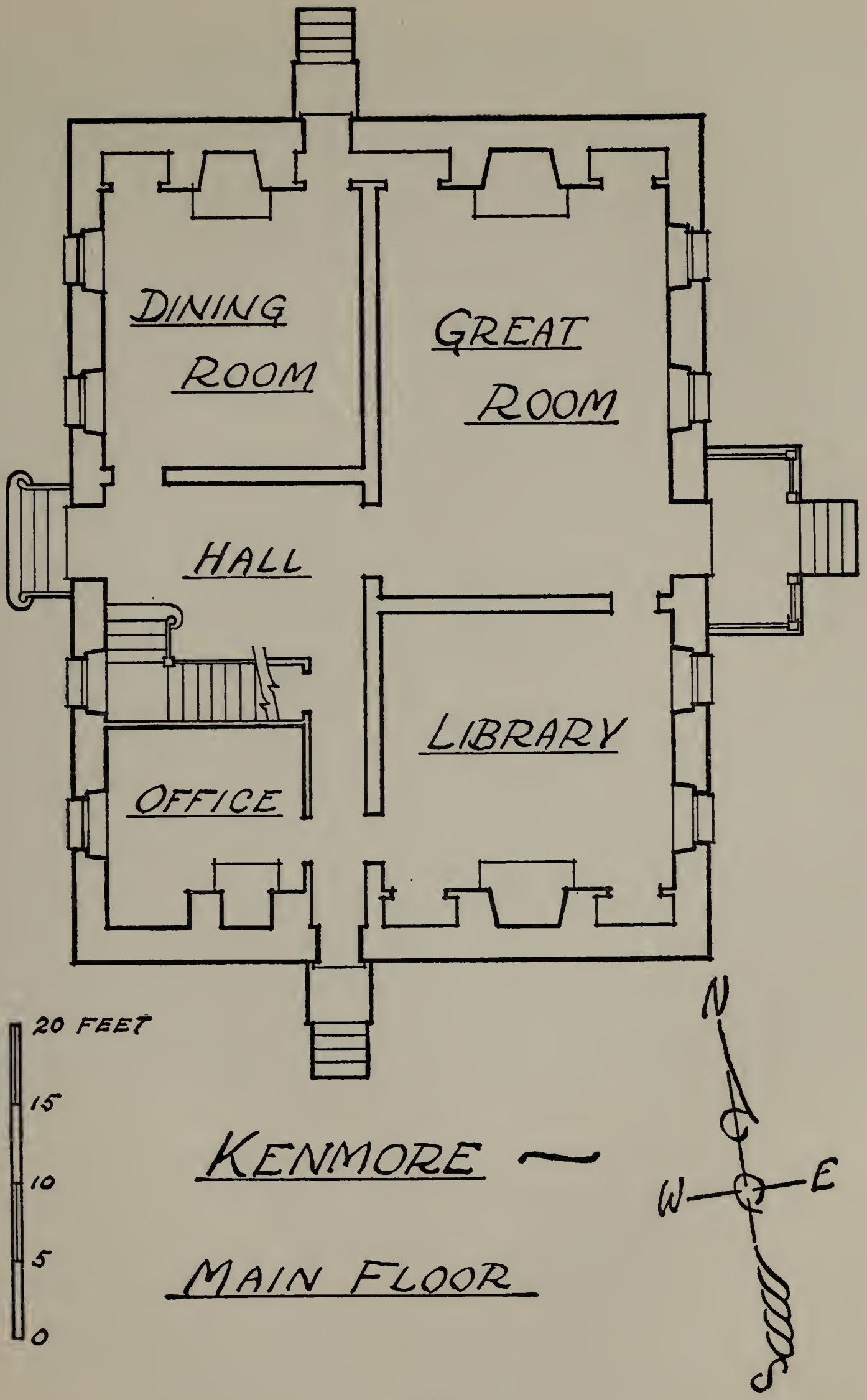
October 5, 1775: "Stucco workmen will be three weeks yet about the dining room."

October 15, 1775: "The stoco man thinks he shall be four weeks about the dining room. The ceiling is not clumsy, I think it light and handsome. It is altogether worked by hand which makes it tedious. As to pulling down the plastering in the new room, it will not make two days odds in his doing the room, for he can plaster in one day more than our two men can do in a week. Mrs. Washington seems desirous that whatever is to be done to it may be done at once, that she may get into it this winter. If the sides are done in plain stoco it will not take him long. As to the ceiling I can form no judgement how long it will take him. She intends to talk to Colonel Lewis on her way down about it."

October 22, 1775: "The Stucco man is at work upon the dining room. God knows when he will get it done."

November 5, 1775: "I believe you will not be displeased with the heaviness of the work in the dining room when you come to see it. It does not look heavy, but it is a kind of work that goes slow. The man is still at it, and will be for a fortnight."

November 12, 1775: "The dining room will I expect be



KENMORE —

MAIN FLOOR

finished this week now come in. It is, I think very pretty. The stucco man agrees the ceiling is a handsomer one than any of Colonel Lewis', although not half the work on it."

November 24, 1775: "I have not yet got rid of the plasterer. Perhaps my next letter may tell you he is done. Mrs. Washington concluded to have the room intended for her chamber done quite plain, no ornaments upon the ceiling, the sides plain stucco. He is now about it, but has yet something to do in the dining room."

December 10, 1775: "I have sent the plasterer back to Colonel Lewis. I think the dining room very pretty."[3]

In the entrance hall at Kenmore the graceful stair is the main feature. After a rise of a few steps to a window landing, it turns at right angles and ascends along the south wall in a long flight to still another landing, then, with a turn to the left and a short third flight, the stair continues to the second floor. Starting with a swirl at the newel, the turned balusters are set three to a step; the balustrade extends along the upper hall in circular fashion and forms an open well. The step ends are delicately carved with a conventional scroll ending in a thistle and leaf. The delicately molded plaster cornice is enriched with egg-and-dart motif, and the wainscoting is notable for deep raised panels.

The arched doorway leading from the entrance hall into the great room is of architectural importance. It is flanked by Doric pilasters and the spandrel panels on the room side are decorated with palm branches. At the rear of the stair hall a transverse passage four feet wide leads to a door opening toward the southern dependency now used for the custodian.

The gun hanging over the dining-room door was one which was made at the gun factory in Fredericksburg during



Summerhouse with herbs in foreground

Augustine Washington and Mary Ball was Married the
Sixth of March 17[30]

George Washington Son to Augustine & Mary his Wife was Born
y^e 11^th Day of February 173½ about 10 in the Morning & was Baptiz'd the 5^th of April
following Mr. Beverley Whiting & Capt. Christopher Brooke Godfathers and
Mrs. Mildred Gregory Godmother

Betty Washington was Born the 20^th of June 1733 about 6 in y^e Morning
Departed this life the 31^st of March 1797 at 4 o'clock P.M.

Samuel Washington was Born y^e 16^th of Nov. 1734 about 3 in y^e Morning

Jane Washington Daughter of Augustine and Jane Washington
Departed this Life Jan^y 17^th 1734½

John Augustine Washington was Born y^e 13^th of Jan^y about 2 in y^e Morn
1735/6

Charles Washington was Born y^e 2^d Day of May about 8 in y^e Morn
1738

Mildred Washington was Born y^e 21^st of June 1739 about 9 at Night

Mildred Washington Departed this Life Oct^r y^e 23^d 1740 being the 2^d day
about 12 o'Clock at Noon Aged 1 Year 4 Months

Augustine Washington Departed this Life y^e 12^th Day of April 1762
Aged 49 Years —

Facsimile of page from Washington Bible,
courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association

the Revolution, and has since been reassembled. This is the only gun which can be authentically traced to the gunnery. Opposite the main door to the right stands the tall grandfather clock originally owned by Mary Washington, and beneath the stairway is a handsome Chippendale sofa. Other interesting pieces of early American design are a lowboy, two fine mirrors, a table, and two Queen Anne chairs.

The dining room to the left of the main entrance is paneled to the ceiling on the north wall, and the wainscoting is notable for deep raised panels. The cornice-type mantelshelf is supported on consoles. The decoration of the mantel is delicately carved wood. A graceful swan forms the central motif of a foliated design beneath the mantelshelf, and the woodwork around the fireplace is also enriched with fine carving.

The mantel is flanked by doors with mitered ears at the corner of their frames. The door to the left opens into a closet. The one to the right leads through a small storeroom directly to the outside kitchen, an arrangement which must have made it convenient for bringing in hot waffles and battercakes together with other food for the Lewis family. According to tradition the cruciform panels to the doors were supposed to keep witches away. Flooring in this room and throughout the house is of random-width pine boards. The two windows on the south have paneled shutters set in deep recesses as well as window seats. The shutters have small H hinges. These windows are typical of those in all the rooms.

The chief embellishment of the dining room is the elaborate plaster ceiling, of a conventional style of ornamental relief. A rayed head forms the center of a large circle, surrounded by circular patterns enclosed in a series of rosettes.

Festoons of leafage cover the field up to the border where the same circles and rosettes again appear.

The walls are deep blue-green with the woodwork in a lighter matching shade. The draperies over the windows are of soft green brocade. A Chippendale gesso mirror crowned by a design of three feathers hangs over the mantel, and Chelsea ornaments are placed on the mantelshelf. The six-legged Queen Anne table is the counterpart of one which has been used at Sabine Hall on the Rappahannock since the early days of the colony. The tall hunt board was originally owned by Mary Washington. A handsome silver triple urn which stands on this board was once a Lewis possession. Betty Lewis's own mahogany china press has come back to Kenmore as a loan from the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. Among the many interesting pieces it contains are part of a set of blue Canton china and a glass dish which once belonged to John Washington, three original Lewis plates, blue glass bowls and sugar dish formerly owned by Charles Washington, a yellow china tea set and a blue Spode platter. Among the other distinctive furnishings of the room are six Queen Anne chairs, a chest of Chinese Chippendale, a Lowestoft punch bowl and Dutch silver ladle, and six candlesticks. Portraits of Colonel Fielding Lewis and Betty Washington hang on the walls facing the windows. Like those in the great room, they were painted by John Wollaston.

The great room is of extraordinary beauty with characteristics of restraint and formal elegance. The finely balanced proportions and high-pitched walls convey a feeling of spaciousness. In this room is found the most elaborate plaster-relief ceiling in the mansion, notable for a certain delicacy of line and form. The superb design has a center scheme of

ovals. A medallion of leafage is bordered by circular patterns formed of rosettes in which each small circle contains baskets of fruit and flowers. The design outside the circles is covered with ornament of vines and leafage in intricately graceful forms. The cornucopias in the spandrels are said to represent the four horns of plenty.

A distinguished feature of the room is the mantel, with enrichments of exquisitely carved wood. A graceful urn is used as the focal point of an intricate design beneath the mantel. The arched facing of the fireplace opening is typical of the fine houses of the period and is similar to all throughout the mansion. As in the dining room, the mantel is flanked on either side by a closet. In the rectangular frame of the overmantel is an elliptical floral wreath in plaster relief surrounding the famous bas-relief portraying scenes from Aesop's Fables, the design of which is said to have been suggested by Washington. The Kenmore Association has an affidavit to this effect, written February 10, 1923, by Mrs. S. Fahe Smith, York, Pennsylvania: "I hereby certify that my grandmother Betty Lewis (daughter of Robert Lewis who was the son of Fielding Lewis and Betty Washington) told me that her father had given her the following history of the so-called Aesop Fable mantelpiece at Kenmore:

" 'General Washington said he wished his family to beware of flattery, and therefore, had the design of the Fox, the Crow and the piece of Cheese used for the mantelpiece referred to.' "[4] Every part of the design appears to have had a meaning, the church, the home, and the fort standing for the three cornerstones of the nation.

The walls of the great room are an eggshell shade, enhancing the fresh whiteness of the ceiling and the mantel.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that, in contrast to the elaborately ornamented ceilings, the plain wall surfaces give balance and repose in the mansion. A very rare chandelier of unusual distinction adds sparkle and charm to the great room because it is entirely correct as to scale and proportion. This dates from 1760, and it was considered quite an achievement to have secured it. Chandeliers of this early period are very difficult to obtain as they did not come into general use until around 1800. After the chandelier was placed, Mrs. Crowninshield, president of the Kenmore Association, declared, "The whole room seems to sing with beauty." Hangings of blue figured toile are used on the two windows and the graceful Chippendale sofa is covered with the same material. The early Oushak rug covers almost the entire floor of the room. Two notable Chippendale chairs formerly owned by Charles Washington are on either side of the fireplace. A very fine screen once owned by Lord Botetourt, ornamented with four matched engravings, is on the hearth. Two chairs, the mahogany secretary, and the tray-top serving table were lent by the Metropolitan Museum. The mirrors, tables, candlesticks, English Delft bowl, and large Chinese vases are all genuine early pieces representative of the period.

The portraits of Colonel Fielding Lewis[5] and of Betty Washington Lewis,[6] painted by John Wollaston, have come back to Kenmore, one as a gift, the other as a loan, and hang on the walls where they were originally placed. The artist has portrayed Colonel Lewis as a gentleman of courtly bearing and great dignity. The cast in his eye which has been often referred to can easily be discerned, although it in no way mars the kindliness of his expression. Mrs. Lewis is painted in a dress of azure blue. Her erect carriage and gracious

aspect, the pose of her head and her fine brow, give distinction to her appearance and an air of aristocratic breeding. One of her descendants wrote of the painting as follows: "Betty's portrait, taken in her youth, represents her as a tall, handsome woman with brown hair and eyes—her head held proudly erect and her full lips firmly, almost haughtily compressed as if she had just issued some positive command to her army of tall sons."[7]

A door on the south wall of the great room opens directly into the large library which occupies the northeast corner of the mansion. The lavishly decorated ceiling has a central circle within a quatrefoil ornamented with festoons. The corner compartments display plant symbols of the four seasons: palms for spring, grapes for summer, acorns for fall, mistletoe for winter. According to Fiske Kimball, the pattern of this ceiling "both by its general form and by the crossed palm branches betrays a derivation from Plate CLXX of Batty Langley's City and Country Builder's Treasury."[8] The frieze of wood under the cornice shelf of the mantel is beautifully carved, and the overmantel of decorative plaster work is delicately wrought with the conventional design of a graceful festoon beneath a basket of flowers. The mantel is flanked by two doors opening into closets which contain book-lined shelves.

Here the eggshell tint of the walls in the great room is repeated. And here also is another rare Oushak rug similar in design to the other and entirely correct as to period.

Outstanding among the many interesting pieces in the library are an imposing highboy of Chippendale influence and a slant-top desk. A Martha Washington style chair, a delicate piecrust table, a rare Lowestoft urn with sepia seals,

and an embroidery frame are all appropriate and intrinsically fine. The very rare wing chair and the Queen Anne mirror are authentic period designs. Rich red brocade is looped high for draperies on the two windows on the east. Four Chippendale chairs are set around the gaming table in the center of the room; silver candlesticks stand on each corner of the table and the cards spread out in readiness for a game give a realistic touch.[9] Two doors face one another. One, leading from the library into the side hall, is opposite another which opens into the room on the southwest corner of the mansion which Colonel Lewis is thought to have used as his study. Smaller than any other on the first floor, this room must have been particularly comfortable and easy to heat during the winter months. The walls are a soft blue-gray, and a simple pewter chandelier hangs from the ceiling. A rare Chippendale secretary is to the right of the carved mantel. The window, which faces west, has, in common with all those on the first story, eighteen small panes of glass. The wing chair, day bed and reading stand, the roundabout chair, tables, pipe rack containing pipes, and the punch bowl and glasses, all give the room an inviting appearance, a place for relaxation and repose.

The large hall running east and west on the second floor has a window at either end, and doors on either side lead into the four bedrooms. Near the head of the stairs is an interesting spinet, dated 1780. Above it is hung a framed quilt of unusual design which is the work of the three wives of Captain Thomas Hammond. There is a massive chest that once belonged to the Washington family. Also there are several fine chairs, a Queen Anne table, and a needlework picture which is a copy of Savage's painting of the Washington

family. This was embroidered by Martha Washington and Betty Lewis Carter at Mount Vernon after the death of Washington.

The center of interest in the large, comfortable bedroom of Betty Washington Lewis is the handsome four-poster bed which formerly belonged to her and which now stands in its original place. The lovely blue-flowered toile de jouy used for the coverlid and hangings on the bed, and also for the window draperies, serves to recreate the spirit of other days. The walls are painted in a pastel shade of rose, and the woodwork in tints of palest blue. An epaulet case, holding a pair of impressive epaulets, and a salt-glaze powder jar stood on the dressing table. Near the bed is a wig stand which contains a wig presented to Colonel Lewis by George Washington. Through the open door of one of the closets on either side of the mantel may be seen dresses of rich silken materials, with slippers on the shelf above. Betty Lewis's own desk occupies a conspicuous position in her room, and there are a comfortable wing chair, an old hair trunk, a candlestand, pictures, and books. With such an array of personal belongings, one receives an intimate impression of their owner and it is not difficult to imagine her presence within these very walls.

The full flavor of the past has been preserved in the northeast room directly across the hall, still called the Mary Washington room. The walls are a soft green shade and the hangings on the bed and the window draperies are mauve toile de jouy of rare design. There is an interesting mantel with closets on either side. A series of engravings made in 1747 represent the twelve months of the year. The imposing tester bed, the chest-on-chest, the day bed, and the chest of

drawers are all authentic pieces of significant importance and were lent by the Metropolitan Museum.

From the guest-room windows can be seen the broad sweep of the front lawn and of the hills beyond when the trees are bare of leaves. The walls in this northwest room are a light blue shade with white below the chair board. The rose-flowered hangings on the bed, and the draperies of the same material on the windows, accentuate the charm of the room. As in the other two bedrooms, there are closets on either side of the mantel, which is ornamented with carved dentils beneath the broad shelf. The very rare old prayer rugs are of particular interest. The four-poster bed, the highboy, dressing table, Chippendale chairs, warming pan, and wig stand are genuine early pieces, entirely in keeping with the importance of a room which has been occupied by so great a number of distinguished visitors.[10]

The boy's room on the southeast corner of the house has a simple mantel over which several fine American woodcuts are placed. A door to the left of the mantel discloses narrow steps leading up to the unfinished attic which is over the entire second floor. Here the Lewis children must have spent many a happy hour on rainy days. The single, low-poster child's bed in the boy's room is hung with curtains of blue woven material. The lap desk formerly owned by Major George Washington Lewis bears his initials. There is a rag rug on the floor, a child's desk, and an interesting series of prints showing the Prodigal Son, dating back to 1790. Of particular interest are the playthings, including wooden soldiers and other toys, which would appeal to a boy's fancy.

The flower arrangements which adorn the halls and rooms of Kenmore throughout the changing seasons are skill-

fully done by a resident hostess. They give a homelike atmosphere to the mansion and arouse the admiration of visitors. Great care is taken to use blossoms from the old-fashioned flowers in the cutting garden. During the winter months arrangements are made of autumn leaves treated in a manner which preserves the colors, combined with berries and dried flowers of everlasting varieties.

In a letter commenting upon Kenmore, Dr. Fiske Kimball, highest authority on colonial houses, wrote: "The position of Kenmore as one of the great mansions of Virginia is so well established that it scarcely needs emphasis. Above all, the beauty of the ceilings and other decorative plaster work gives it an almost unique position. Another of its beauties is the perfection with which it has been furnished. Joined with the extraordinary preservation of the original work, and the high standard of its maintenance, this makes it a model among preserved houses and a joy to visit."

CHAPTER XIX

Through the Years

FROM the time that the charter was issued the Kenmore Association has maintained high standards in its associates as well as its purposes. Its affairs are directed by a board consisting of the following officers: president, vice-president, second and third vice-presidents, national secretary, recording secretary, registrar, and national treasurer, eight trustees, an advisory board with representatives from six of the great American museums, an adviser for furnishings, chairman of the Board of Regents, chairman for restoration of gardens, and chairman for reclamation of grounds. The Kenmore Association has several thousand annual and life members throughout the country. The Board of Regents, with forty-two state regents and nine vice-regents, is organized as a permanent and self-perpetuating body who appoint committees and endeavor to create interest in Kenmore. Most of the officers and regents travel long distances twice a year to attend the midyear meeting of the regents in New York in the fall and the annual meeting of the Kenmore Association held in

Fredericksburg, Virginia, in the spring. Upon these occasions business is discussed and plans are formulated for the further development of the association.

When the celebration of the Washington bicentennial year was opened at midday on January 1, 1932, it was marked by the striking of Mary Washington's clock which stands in the entrance hall at Kenmore. The sound of the striking of the hour, followed by an address by the Hon. Sol Bloom, was broadcast over the nation from Kenmore.

In April of the same year the governors of the nation held their annual meeting in Richmond and were entertained at Kenmore. The chief executives of twenty-eight states with their staffs attended the luncheon given there in their honor.

Many thousands of visitors have seen the old Lewis home since it has been maintained as a memorial. However, during World War II few visitors came to Kenmore because of the gasoline rationing. It was then that the doors of the mansion were opened to servicemen, and over 60,000 soldiers, sailors, and marines were entertained there without charge during the war period. They were conducted over the mansion and were served with tea and gingerbread in the old kitchen. Kenmore made a strong appeal to men of the armed forces, who seemed to find about the place a restful permanence during the period of unrest. They returned again and again to Kenmore, bringing their friends and families, always expressing their appreciation of the beauty of the place and of the history of those who made sacrifices in the building of this country. When they went overseas to distant lands, letters from all over the world were received from servicemen, telling what the place had meant to them. One lad wrote from England: "What a comfort Kenmore has been to the

thousands of soldiers, sailors and marines who visit it. It is a symbol of the American Spirit which makes a person glad he is in the Service. Things like that I can't forget whether I am in the Carolinas, Australia or Africa."

Another boy wrote from Africa: ". . . no matter where we may go, nothing will ever take the place of Kenmore. In a special little corner in my heart I have set up a shrine for Kenmore."

And still another: "I thought I would drop a line to Kenmore and congratulate you on the victory you have won. It was millions of people who won this war. We just happened to be on the spot when it happened. . . . But it is places like Kenmore and the people there who give us love and courage, and things to go back to."

The *Free Lance Star* in Fredericksburg published the following on July 28, 1941: "Some 500 soldiers from the 44th Division got a lesson in patriotism yesterday. This number of lads were admitted free to the Kenmore grounds and mansion where Mrs. Annie Fleming Smith and a hard-working staff entertained them. . . . They enjoyed particularly the ten gallons of tea and the forty pounds of gingerbread served them on the lawn. Some of the appreciative lads said: 'It is an inspiration to have been on this hallowed spot. We'll never let America down.' "

Every week during the war period busloads of patients from the hospital at the marine base at Quantico were brought over to Kenmore and the wounded men were provided with refreshments and entertainment. A piano was placed in the kitchen to provide accompaniment for group singing; games were set up on the lawn. Upon one or two occasions there were weddings when soldiers or sailors expressed their de-

sire to be married at Kenmore. Everything was provided to make these celebrations memorable.

Kenmore has become more and more the center of community interests in Fredericksburg. Throughout the years the co-operation of the citizens of the town in every enterprise undertaken by the Kenmore Association has been almost incredible. According to Mrs. Crowninshield, "It is wonderful beyond belief what the people of Fredericksburg have done, it is a remarkable example of what may be accomplished by an entire community getting together." There was a memorable Home-coming Day celebration with a War Bond Drive which resulted in remarkable sales. The Kenmore Children's Brigade is active and interested.

It was a fortunate day for the Kenmore Association when a New York firm, while endeavoring to find a good recipe for making dehydrated gingerbread, had their attention directed to a copy of the recipe of Mary Washington's gingerbread which Mrs. V. M. Fleming had had printed. When they tried the recipe it was found to be much better than countless others they had sampled. A representative of the company made a trip to Fredericksburg to ascertain the authenticity of the statement that this was the original recipe of the gingerbread which Mary Washington served Lafayette. Being satisfied with the proof which Mrs. Fleming gave, it was agreed to allow them to use the recipe and, at the same time, the company offered to furnish the Kenmore Association sufficient gingerbread mix with which to serve their guests. Arrangements were also made by which members of various patriotic organizations were given the opportunity to sell gingerbread mix, the profits arising therefrom to go to the Kenmore Association. These arrange-

ments brought happy results. The Dromedary people have proved themselves to be true friends over the years. Their generosity has been the means of providing substantially for the upkeep of Kenmore. Also it has enabled the Kenmore Association to dispense hospitality by providing the gingerbread which is served with tea to the guests.

When the Kenmore Association completed its twenty-fifth year, an important celebration of the anniversary was observed in Fredericksburg on the eighth and ninth of May 1947. The program began at noon with the unveiling of the bust of James Monroe at the James Monroe Law Office, which had been arranged by the Kenmore regent from Connecticut. A dinner for the Hon. William M. Tuck, governor of Virginia, and Mrs. Tuck, the officers and regents of the Kenmore Association, and many other distinguished guests, was given at the Stratford Hotel on the evening of May 8. A reception followed at Kenmore, in honor of the governor and his wife.

After the annual meeting of the association, held on the lawn of Kenmore on the morning of May 9, an intimate pageant was shown in the mansion to a great number of guests. Delegations and distinguished guests had come from Richmond, Washington, North Carolina, Maryland, and many other states. By skillful arrangement a limited number of persons were allowed to enter at one time, and each group was conducted slowly from room to room where dramatic episodes which are believed to have actually taken place in these rooms were enacted. The parts of Colonel and Mrs. Fielding Lewis and their children, of General and Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Mary Washington, and other noted persons of the Revolutionary period, were played by citizens

of Fredericksburg, wearing colonial costumes. The pageant was directed by Robert Porterfield, director of the Barter Theater.

After a luncheon given for the guests by the president of the Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia a ballet was presented at Kenmore by students of the college. Young girls wearing rainbow-colored costumes made lovely pictures as they danced on the grass to the accompaniment of a symphony orchestra. Mrs. Francis B. Crowninshield, president of the Kenmore Association, presided at the formal Anniversary Program on the grounds in front of the mansion. The Invocation by the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker was followed by a welcome from the mayor of Fredericksburg, and greetings from the governor of Virginia. "Social Life at Kenmore," the subject of the principal address, given by Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, was an interesting description of family life in Virginia during the colonial period. Among other things he referred to the days "when men went into the army, and women stayed at home and rocked babies and reared sons in the fear of God." Mrs. Edmund Burke Ball, chairman of the Board of Regents, introduced the regents representing forty states.

Throughout the day special recognition was given to the services of Mrs. Horace H. Smith, national secretary of the Kenmore Association. In an editorial published in the Richmond *News Leader*, Dr. Douglas Freeman wrote: "Fredericksburg staged on the 8th and 9th a genuinely beautiful celebration of the twenty fifth anniversary of the acquisition of Kenmore as a national shrine. Everything was done in the finest taste by highly intelligent performers. The girls who dressed as young colonial gentlemen were

as lovely to behold as were their classmates in skirts. All Virginia could be proud of the observance. Properly enough, as the ceremonies progressed, they took on more and more the form of a tribute to Mrs. Annie Fleming Smith, executive secretary of Kenmore and its guiding spirit ever since the decline in health of her beloved mother, the late Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming. . . . Mrs. Smith has genius for eliciting cooperation. She has brought together an enthusiastic board of trustees and a board of regents that includes most active supporters from many states. How she has found them, how she has made them see that Kenmore is worth their best endeavors, Miss Annie alone knows. A part of her secret undoubtedly is that she never asks anyone to work half as hard for Kenmore as she does."

An event of significant importance occurred in Fredericksburg on July 6, 1947, when the bicentennial of the birth of Admiral John Paul Jones was celebrated. As a young man John Paul Jones lived for about two years in Fredericksburg, at which time he was a citizen of Virginia. A great throng assembled in James Monroe High School Stadium, including seventeen American admirals and one Russian admiral from the Russian Embassy in Washington. Music was furnished by the United States Navy Band. "In the name of the President of the United States" Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King presented the gold medal awarded to John Paul Jones by the Continental Congress on October 16, 1787. It was accepted by Rear Admiral James L. Holloway, superintendent of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, to be placed in the Jones crypt beneath the Academy chapel. After the conclusion of the exercises, the distinguished guests were entertained at Kenmore. Rain drove the crowd indoors, and

D.r Sir February the 9.th 1781.

I expected to have received by
M.r Dick the money I have advanced for the Pub:
lic Gunn factory at Fredericksburg for which he
had a warrant on the Treasury. no Man is a
better judge of the loss I must at any rate sus=
tain by not receiving my Money then you are
most part of it was advanced as early as July
and without such advance the factory must
have been discontinued, as no Money could be
had at the Treasury, or so little that the busines
must have suffered greatly; had I suffered that
factory to have stoped I know the Public would have
condemned me for it altho' I should not have
been blameable as the cause would have been the
want of Money. You may remember that I was
desired to borrow all the Money I could for the use
of the State I think I procured between Thirty &
Forty Thousand pounds, seven Thousand of which
I lent the State being all that I had at that time
on hand. by these advances I have distressed my=
self greatly and at this time am not able to pay the
collector my Taxes and continue my business in
the usual manner, I shall be greatly obliged to
you to send me the Money by M.r James Maury
who has the Warrant: can it be expected that
the State can be well served when its best
friends are used in the manner I have been treated
I am S.r your most Ob.d Servant
Fielding Lewis.

Facsimile of letter from Colonel Fielding Lewis
to Colonel George Brooke, Treasurer of the State of Virginia
(original in archives of Virginia State Library)



Portrait of
Colonel Fielding Lewis
in the Great Room
at Kenmore.
Original painting
by Wollaston



Portrait of
Betty Washington Lewis
in the Great Room
at Kenmore.
Original painting
by Wollaston

seldom has the Kenmore mansion been visited by so great a number of celebrities. Highest-ranking officers of the United States Navy, wearing white uniforms and decorated with stars and medals, many of them accompanied by their wives, filled the rooms on the first floor where they were received by a number of the officers of the Kenmore Association. Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz was heard to remark that he brought greetings from Fredericksburg, Texas, to Fredericksburg, Virginia. Colonel Fielding Lewis and Betty Lewis looked serenely down from their portraits on the walls of the great room, as if approving the assemblage in their home of so many representative Americans who had come to pay tribute to one of their own contemporaries—a man who would brook no interference with the rights of the American Navy to go wherever required.

It is said that an old house harbors peace. This statement may be truthfully applied to the old Lewis home. There is something about Kenmore that inspires devotion—the glamor of its past, the beauty of its present, the promise of its endurance, endear it to the nation. Its very fine detail seems to symbolize some characteristics of its original owners. The impress of their personalities persists in the quiet old house. One is conscious of their brooding presence, of the courage and self-sacrifice of Colonel Fielding Lewis, the unselfish devotion of his wife Betty Washington, and the spirit of patriotism which inspired them both.

Americans who visit Kenmore are proud to see in full fruition today the result of the loving labors of patriotic citizens who have accomplished its restoration. There is a noble and ever-living quality about this mansion which holds as much meaning for the present and future as for the past.

When we hark back to the days of the founders, should we not dedicate ourselves to the ideals which inspired the patriots of Kenmore?

It is the hope of the Kenmore Association that this beautiful shrine may be preserved for generations of loyal Americans.

NOTES

Chapter I

1. John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, published 1708, England, p. 275.
2. Virginia State Library, Land Office, *Patent Book No. I*, 1623–43, p. 179: "Captain Adam Thorowgood received 5350 acres upon Chesapeake for the transportation of 105 persons in 'the Hopewell,' 24 June, 1635." Among the names of the list of persons brought over is that of Augustine Warner.
3. Ibid., pp. 298, 299.
4. Ibid., p. 298.
5. Ibid., Part II, p. 873.
6. Ibid., *No. 3*, October 26, 1652, p. 122.
7. Ibid., *No. 6*, 166–79, p. 410.
8. William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, pp. 506, 507.
9. William Armistead Crozier, *Virginia County Records Series*, Vol. 5, p. 58.
10. Hening, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 370, 507, 514.
11. J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 32, p. 26; and William G. and Mary N. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, p. 38.

12. Robert A. Lancaster, Jr., *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches*, p. 247.
13. Property of Mrs. Alfred Withers, Severnby, Gloucester County.
14. Philip A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the 17th Century*, Vol. I, p. 318.
15. Crozier, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 104.
16. Stanard, op. cit., p. 51.
17. Ibid., pp. 41–48.
18. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, (cited hereafter as *Virginia Magazine*), Vol. 56, pp. 197, 198.
19. Virginia State Library, Land Office, *Patent Book No. 3*, p. 4.
20. *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 56, pp. 199, 200.
21. Ibid., Vol. 12, p. 101.
22. Stanard, op. cit., p. 44.
23. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Planters of Colonial Virginia*, p. 227.
24. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 48.
25. Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 264.
26. Stanard, op. cit., p. 48.
27. *Abingdon Parish Register*, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.
28. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 49.
29. *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 23, p. 162, note 1.
30. Sally Nelson Robins, *History of Gloucester and Its People*, p. 9.
31. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.
32. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 48; also, J. C. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 32, pp. 27, 28.
33. *Calendar State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 240.
34. Hening, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 70.

35. *Spotsylvania County Order Book*, 1738–49, Vol. II, p. 485.
36. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 49.
37. Ibid.

Chapter II

1. Charles A. Hoppin, *The Washington Ancestry*, Vol. I, p. 128.
2. Ibid., p. 113.
3. Ibid., p. 53.
4. Ibid., pp. 128, 129, 156.
5. Ibid., p. 147, 156.
6. Charles Moore, *The Family Life of George Washington*, p. 18.
7. Hoppin, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 167.
8. Ibid., p. 167; also Stanard, op. cit., p. 79.
9. Moore, op. cit., p. 20.
10. Ibid., p. 20.
11. Ibid., p. 20.
12. Moore, op. cit., p. 21.
13. Hoppin, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 163, 243.
14. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., Vol. 32, p. 27.
15. William Byrd, *A Progress to the Mines*, p. 373.
16. Moore, op. cit., p. 22.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ella Bassett Washington, *Century Magazine*, Vol. 43, p. 831.

Notes

21. The Mount Vernon Collection, *Washington Family Bible.*
22. Ibid.
23. Westmoreland County, *Records and Inventories*, 1723–26, p. 24.
24. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., Vol. 32, p. 28.
25. Moore, op. cit., p. 28.
26. The Mount Vernon Collection, *Washington Family Bible.*
27. Moore, op. cit., p. 24.
28. Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming, *The Story of Kenmore*, p. 3.
29. Courtesy of Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon.
30. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., Vol. 32, p. 28.
31. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 82.
32. Fleming, op. cit., p. 4.
33. *Tyler's Magazine*, Vol. 9, p. 37, also S. M. Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, Vol. 3, p. 394.
34. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.
35. *Spotsylvania County Order Book*, 1749–55, p. 114.
36. Ibid., p. 57.
37. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 237.
38. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 49. Also, from records copied in Bible of George Lewis.
39. Ibid.

Chapter III

1. Virginia State Library, Land Office, *Patent Book No. 6*, p. 343.
2. *Spotsylvania County Deed Book E*, 1751–61, Part I, p. 46.
3. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 400.

Notes

4. Byrd, op. cit., p. 373.
5. Ibid., p. 28.
6. Virginia State Library, *Bulletin IX*.
7. S. J. Quinn, *History of Fredericksburg*, p. 37.
8. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 234.
9. Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 82.
10. Rev. Andrew Burnaby, "Travels in Virginia," *Virginia Historical Register*, Vol. 5, p. 34.
11. Byrd, op. cit., p. 373.
12. *Maryland Gazette*, May 22, 1751.
13. Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, p. 141.
14. Thomas Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia*, p. 246.
15. Ibid., p. 246.

Chapter IV

1. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 49. Also Lewis family record in Bible which belonged to George Lewis.
2. *Spotsylvania County Order Book*, 1749–55, p. 436.
3. Bruce, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 73.
4. Ibid., p. 74.
5. Ibid., p. 157.
6. *Augusta County Deed Book* 7, p. 25.
7. *Frederick County Deed Book* 4, p. 293.
8. Bishop Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 125.
9. *Records of Masonic Lodge*, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Notes

10. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 9, p. 261.
11. *Spotsylvania County Deed Book H*, 1773–74, p. 297.
12. Op. cit., *Deed Book G*, p. 274.
13. *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1761–65, p. 196. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 7, p. 314.
14. Crozier, *Spotsylvania County Records, Deed Book J*, p. 326.
15. Ibid., *Deed Book O*, 1794–97, p. 473.
16. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 217.
17. Ibid., p. 251.
18. Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 319, 320.
19. *Spotsylvania County Records, Minutes*, 1755–65, p. 94.
20. *Calendar State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 253.
21. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 475, 478.
22. Crozier, *Spotsylvania County Guardian Bonds, Will Book B*, p. 73.

Chapter V

1. George Washington, *Ledger Book A*, 1750–74, p. 193.
2. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 41.
3. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, Vol. 10, p. 49.
4. *Spotsylvania Will Book E*, Part I, pp. 457, 458, 459.
5. Ibid., p. 457.
6. Wertenbaker, *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture*, p. 105.

Notes

Chapter VI

1. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.
2. Files of *Virginia Gazette*, Virginia State Library. Also, Genevieve Yost, *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 2, Vol. 18, pp. 419–35.
3. George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, p. 147.
4. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 215.
5. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 364.
6. Hunter Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
7. *Spotsylvania County Order Book*, 1749–55, p. 260.
8. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 262.
9. Mary N. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia*, p. 134.
10. Crozier, *Virginia County Records*, Lewis Arms, Vol. 5, p. 53; Fielding Arms, pp. 78, 79.
11. Washington, *Ledger Book A*, p. 8.
12. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II, p. 374.
13. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 115.
14. Webster's *Dictionary:* "Oznaburg—a coarse linen, imported originally from Oznaburg, Germany."
15. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II, p. 137.
16. Nancy B. Turner, *Mother of Washington*, p. 186.

Notes

Chapter VII

1. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 312.
2. Ibid., p. 316.
3. Ibid., p. 317.
4. *Frederick County Records, Deed Book 23*, pp. 243–47.
5. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II, pp. 22, 23.
6. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 379.
7. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 119.
8. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 225.
9. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 365.
10. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 290.
11. Ibid., Vol. 37, p. 499.
12. Hunter Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
13. Carter Papers, Letter Book for 1774–75, p. 116, Division of Manuscripts, Duke University.
14. Ibid., p. 121.
15. Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 60.

Chapter VIII

1. *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1758–61, p. VIII; also, Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, p. 153.

Notes

2. *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 46, pp. 299–315.
3. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, pp. 266, 267, 268.
4. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 269.
5. Jones, op. cit., pp. 31, 32.
6. John Burk, *The History of Virginia*, Vol. 3, pp. 333, 334.
7. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 16, Series 1, p. 22.
8. *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1758–61, p. 210.
9. Ibid., 1761–65, p. 70.
10. Ibid., 1761–65, p. 172.
11. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 9.
12. *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1761–65, p. 280.
13. Burk, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 297.
14. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, Vol. 16, pp. 24, 25.
15. Ibid., p. 26.
16. *Virginia Gazette*, May 2, 1766.
17. *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1766–69, p. 53.
18. Ibid., 1766–69, p. 123.
19. Ibid., 1766–69, p. 174.
20. *Virginia Gazette*, April 18, 1766; February 19, 1767.
21. Ibid., April 10, 1766.
22. Ibid., April 25, 1766.
23. Ibid., February 19, 1767.
24. Ibid., November 12, 1767.
25. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 216.
26. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 221.
27. *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 37, p. 64.
28. Ibid., Vol. 37, p. 65.
29. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, pp. 267, 268.
30. Washington, *Ledger Book A*, 1750–74, p. 193.
31. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, p. 296.

32. Ibid., p. 296. Fielding Lewis's share in the Dismal Swamp Company was sold by his executors, August 12, 1793, for nine hundred pounds.
33. Patsy Custis, granddaughter of Mrs. Martha Washington.
34. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 363.

Chapter IX

1. Hening, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 494.
2. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 601.
3. Petitions, State Library Archives Division, Richmond, Virginia.
4. *Virginia Gazette*, July 6, August 4, etc., 1768.
5. Ibid., November 24, 1768.
6. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 315.
7. Weedon Ledger, College of William and Mary, Library, Manuscript Division.
8. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 356.
9. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II, p. 398, letter to Messrs. John and James Searles: "At the recommendation of Fielding Lewis, Esq., I am induced to give you the trouble of sending me a pipe of the best Madeira wine."
10. *Virginia Historical Register*, Vol. 3, p. 80.
11. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 391.
12. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 394.
13. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 396.
14. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 385.
15. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 39.
16. Washington, *Ledger Book A*, 1750–74, p. 345.

17. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 196, 197.
18. *Spotsylvania County Will Book E*, Part I, pp. 434, 435, 436.
19. Hamilton, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 362.
20. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 50. Also family Bible records in Bible which belonged to George Lewis.

Chapter X

1. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 39.
2. H. J. Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia*, p. 97.
3. Peter Force, *American Archives*, Series 4, Vol. I, columns 373–74.
4. *Virginia Historical Register*, pp. 217, 218; *Virginia Gazette*, June 2, 1774.
5. Force, op. cit., columns 373–74. Also *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, Vol. 27, pp. 72–73, p. 76.
6. Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 96.
7. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Chapter XI

1. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. 2, pp. 189, 190.
2. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 43.

Notes

3. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 21, p. 341.
4. Fleming, "Kenmore and the Washingtons," *Philadelphia Forum Magazine*, August 1926.
5. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 16, p. 45.
6. Burk, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 409, 410.
7. *Virginia Gazette*, April 29, 1775.
8. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 27, p. 76, Series I.
9. Ibid., Vol. 16, Series I, pp. 44, 45.
10. *Virginia Gazette*, May 13, 1775. Also, *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 27, pp. 76, 94–95.
11. Burk, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 411.
12. Philip V. Fithian, *Journals and Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 298.
13. Force, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 539.
14. Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 123.
15. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 267.
16. Hening, op. cit., Vol. IX, pp. 71, 72. Also *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 27, pp. 248–57.
17. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 87.
18. Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era*, pp. 32, 33.
19. *Colonial Virginia Register*, Vol. 5, p. 36.
20. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 456. Also *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 27, pp. 248–57.
21. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 456.
22. K. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 33, 34.
23. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 3, p. 305.
24. Force, op. cit., Series 4, Vol. 3, p. 699.
25. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 4, p. 125.
26. Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 185.
27. Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 231.
28. Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 312, 314.
29. Jared Sparks, ed., *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 4, p. 332.

30. Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, Vol. II, p. 68.
31. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, pp. 345, 346.
32. *Spotsylvania County, Will Book E*, Part I, pp. 457, 458.
33. *Virginia Gazette*, January 19, 1776.
34. Force, op. cit., Series 4, Vol. 3, p. 1570.
35. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 254.
36. R. D. W. Connor, *Cornelius Harnett*, pp. 86, 87.
37. *Virginia Gazette*, January 24, 1776.
38. Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
39. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 101.
40. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 86.
41. Division of Archives, Virginia State Library, *Accounts of the Virginia Committee of Safety*, p. 77.
42. Hunter Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
43. Ibid.
44. Sparks, ed., *Letters to Washington*, Vol. I, pp. 179, 180.
45. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 109.
46. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 110.
47. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 123.
48. *History of Virginia*, begun by Burk, continued by Skelton Jones and Louis Hue Giradin, Vol. 4, p. 107.
49. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 140.
50. *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 49, p. 342.
51. Hunter Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
52. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense Addresses to the Inhabitants of America.*
53. Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
54. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 105.
55. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 147.

56. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Vol. 2, p. 477.
57. Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety*, Vol. 4, p. 487.
58. *Minutes of the Virginia Committee of Safety*, March 29, 1776.
59. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 161.
60. *Journal of the Virginia Committee of Safety*, p. 2.
61. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 8, p. 168.
62. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 165.
63. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 167.
64. Ibid.
65. *Journal of the Virginia Committee of Safety*, p. 3.
66. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Vol. 2, p. 496.
67. Hunter Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
68. Force, op. cit., 5th Series, Vol. 1, pp. 366, 367.
69. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 372.
70. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 99.
71. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 242.
72. Force, op. cit., 5th Series, Vol. 3, pp. 1242, 1243.
73. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Vol. 1, p. 335.
74. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 427.
75. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 489.
76. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 393.
77. Eckenrode, op. cit., pp. 174, 175.
78. *Journal of the House of Delegates*, October 11, 1776, p. 8.
79. Ibid., p. 20.
80. Division of Manuscripts, New York Public Library.

81. *Journals of the Continental Congress,* Vol. IX, pp. 956, 957.
82. *Journal of the House of Delegates,* 1777–80, p. 119.
83. Division of Archives, Virginia State Library.

Chapter XII

1. Custis, op. cit., pp. 181–83.
2. Ella Bassett Washington, *Century Magazine,* April 1892, p. 834.
3. Ibid., p. 837.
4. *Spotsylvania County Public Service Claims,* Archives Division, Virginia State Library.
5. Bassett Papers, Virginia Historical Society.
6. Hannah Bushrod Washington, daughter of Colonel John Bushrod, married John Augustine Washington.
7. Washington Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
8. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.
9. Division of Manuscripts, New York Public Library.
10. Ibid.

Chapter XIII

1. *Journal of the House of Delegates,* 1776, p. 58.
2. Ibid., 1777–80, p. 50.

3. Ibid., 1776, pp. 61, 65.
4. Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 198.
5. *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1777–80, p. 89.
6. Ibid., pp. 54, 55.
7. Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 211.
8. *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1777–80, p. 68.
9. Eckenrode, op. cit., pp. 201, 202, 203.
10. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, Vol. 27, pp. 250, 251.
11. *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1777–80, p. 77.
12. *Calendar State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 542.
13. Hening, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 204.
14. *Calendar State Papers*, Vol. 1, pp. 502, 503.
15. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 251.
16. Ella Bassett Washington, *Scribner's Magazine*, April 1892.
17. *Vestry Book, St. George's Parish*, Division of Manuscripts, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
18. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 17, p. 58.
19. Ibid., Vol. 18, pp. 66, 67.
20. Washington Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
21. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 19, pp. 129–34.
22. *Calendar Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 416.
23. Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
24. *Old Homes of Albemarle County*. Edward Carter, Gentleman, was a son of John Carter, secretary of the colony and oldest son of King Carter. "Although Secretary Carter never lived in Albemarle county, he kept two establishments on his estate, one at Carter's Mill, the other at Blenheim." In his will Edward Carter left Blenheim to his wife Sally Champe Carter.
25. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 22, pp. 282–84.

26. *Spotsylvania County Petitions*, Division of Archives, Virginia State Library. Also *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 56, April 1948, p. 207.
27. Public Service Claim of Frederick County: "I hereby certify that I have received for public use of Colonel Fielding Lewis, *deceased*, 123 barrels of Indian corn, etc. Given under my hand and seal this 27th day of Decr, 1781, signed Richard Eastern, Commissioner of Frederick county." Division of Archives, Virginia State Library.
28. Rev. W. M. Clarke, *St. George's Cemetery* (Fredericksburg, Virginia, 1892), pp. 4, 5.
29. Washington Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
30. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 24, pp. 129–31.
31. Timothy Alden, *A Collection of American Epitaphs*, Vol. V, pp. 68–70.
32. Eltham, the seat of Colonel Burwell Bassett in New Kent County.
33. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 37, p. 554. Also *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 49, pp. 152–56.

Chapter XIV

1. *Spotsylvania County Will Book E*, Part I, pp. 434, 435, 436. Besides Col. Lewis's holdings in Spotsylvania and Frederick counties, he owned 10,000 acres of land in Kentucky County.
2. Virginia State Library, Division of Archives, Spotsylvania County Tax Lists.
3. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.

4. Moncure D. Conway, *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock*, pp. 83–85.
5. Claude Moore Fuess, *Men of Andover*, pp. 1, 2.
6. David M. Matteson, "The Fredericksburg Peace Ball," *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 49, pp. 152–56.
7. Ella Bassett Washington, *Century Magazine*, April 1892, pp. 836, 837.
8. Ibid.
9. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. 3, pp. 205, 206.
10. *Century Magazine*, April 1892.
11. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 30, pp. 228, 229.
12. Washington Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.
13. Original Will of Mary Washington, Clerk's Office, District Court, Fredericksburg, Virginia.
14. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 30, pp. 229, 250, 251.
15. Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
16. James Ewell, *Medical Companion or Family Physician*, p. 677: "Hemlock when used in powder form (leaves dried and powdered), dose 1 gr. Powerful poison—very effective for cancerous ulcers for relief of pain."
17. Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
18. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 30, note on p. 398.
19. Bassett Papers, Virginia Historical Society.
20. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.
21. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 30, pp. 398, 399.
22. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 51.
23. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 31, pp. 390–91, 394.

24. Archibald Henderson, *Washington's Southern Tour*, pp. 40, 41, 42, 43.
25. Ibid., p. 41.
26. Ibid., pp. 42, 43.
27. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 11, pp. 1–19.
28. Ibid.
29. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 33, p. 504; also, Vol. 32, pp. 354, 355.
30. Original Manuscript in Mount Vernon Archives.
31. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 32, pp. 175–77.
32. A. L. Bassett, "Washington's Only Sister," *Scribner's Magazine*, 1878, Vol. 15.
33. Original in Mount Vernon Archives.
34. Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
35. Ibid.
36. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 35, pp. 15, 16.
37. A. L. Bassett, op. cit., p. 511.
38. Original in Mount Vernon Archives.
39. Conway, ed., "George Washington and Mount Vernon," *Memoirs of Long Island Historical Society*, Vol. IV, p. lxi.
40. Division of Manuscripts, New York Public Library.
41. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 35, p. 434.
42. Kenmore Museum.
43. Alden, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 70.

Notes

Chapter XV

1. Moore, op. cit., p. 87.
2. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 30, pp. 228, 229.
3. Ibid., Vol. 35, pp. 25, 339; also Vol. 36, pp. 62, 140, 141, 162–64.
4. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.
5. Minutes of Common Council of Fredericksburg, City Hall, Fredericksburg, Virginia. I am indebted to Mr. L. J. Houston, city manager of Fredericksburg, for these records.
6. Lewis Papers, Kenmore Museum.
7. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 32, p. 17.
8. Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 5
9. Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 206, 219.
10. Ibid., Vol. 37, p. 292.
11. Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 2, 3.
12. Moore, op. cit., p. 146.
13. Ibid., p. 147.
14. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, Vol. 4, p. 299.
15. Custis, op. cit., p. 450.
16. Moore, op. cit., p. 170.
17. Eugene Ernst Prussing, *The Estate of George Washington, Deceased*, pp. 60, 65; also, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 37, p. 290.
18. *Spotsylvania County*, *Will Book E*, Part I, pp. 434, 435, 436.
19. Rose M. E. MacDonald, *Clarke County, A Daughter of Frederick*, p. 42.

20. Ford, ed., *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 14, p. 416. Also, Original Will of Mary Washington, Clerk's Office, District Court, Fredericksburg, Virginia.
21. Public Service Claims, Frederick County, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.
22. *Frederick County Will Book*, Clerk's Office, Winchester, Virginia.
23. *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 393.
24. *Calendar State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 542.
25. *Minutes of Common Council*, City Manager's Office, Fredericksburg, Virginia.
26. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series I, Vol. 10, p. 50.
27. Prussing, op. cit., pp. 60, 65. Also Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 37, pp. 287, 292.

Chapter XVI.

1. *Spotsylvania Will Book E*, Part I.
2. Clerk's Office, District Court, Fredericksburg, Virginia, *Book C*, p. 69.
3. Ibid., p. 258.
4. Alden, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 73.
5. District Court, Fredericksburg, Virginia, *Book U*, p. 226.
6. Ibid., *Book W*, p. 130.
7. Courtesy of Mr. Alexander Gordon, Baltimore, Maryland.
8. District Court, Fredericksburg, Virginia, *Will Book D*, p. 203.
9. Ibid., *Deed Book T*, p. 55.

Notes

10. Ibid., *Deed Book I*, p. 182.
11. Ibid., *Deed Book U*, p. 451.
12. Ibid., *Deed Book Z*, p. 487.
13. Ibid., *Deed Book B-48*, p. 263.
14. Ibid., *Deed Book B-48*, p. 550.
15. Story as told the writer by Mrs. V. M. Fleming.
16. Records of the Kenmore Association.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.

Chapter XVII

1. Mr. Philip Stern, A.I.A., has kindly furnished information on the restoration of the mansion and the dependencies.
2. Tribute to Mrs. H. H. Benkard, *Magazine Antiques*, October 1945, p. 232.
3. The author is much indebted to Mr. Charles F. Gillette, F.A.S.L.A., for material on the restoration of the Kenmore garden and grounds.
4. Through the courtesy of the late Mrs. Thomas S. Wheelwright, the author was permitted to read her correspondence with Mrs. Fairfax Harrison, Mrs. Gari Melchers, and other members of the Garden Club of Virginia concerning the restoration of the grounds of Kenmore.
5. Mrs. Gari Melchers.
6. Mrs. Thomas S. Wheelwright.
7. Records of the Kenmore Association.

Chapter XVIII

1. Kimball, op. cit., p. 133.
2. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. 3, p. 103.
3. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.
4. Records of the Kenmore Association.
5. Presented by Mr. Lewis Egerton Smoot.
6. Loaned by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.
7. A. L. Bassett, op. cit.
8. Kimball, op. cit., p. 134.
9. The furnishings in the library were in great part given by the late Mrs. J. Amory Haskell.
10. The guest room was furnished by the Colonial Dames of America.

Appendix

ORIGINAL TRUSTEES OF THE KENMORE ASSOCIATION

Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming, President
M. G. Willis Edgar M. Young M. B. Rowe
Mrs. Mary K. Birkhead Mrs. Francis B. Goolrick
Mrs. Gilmore Martin Stoffregan Mrs. Kate Dunn Eckenrode

CHARTER MEMBERS

Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming Mrs. C. O'Connor Goolrick
Mrs. Carrie Hunter Willis
Miss Sallie Nelson Gravatt Miss Dora Chinn Jett
Mrs. Annie Fleming Smith
Mrs. Bessie Birdsall Moon Mrs. Julia Carter Barney
Mrs. Anne Page Chewning
Mrs. Marion Mason Daniel Miss Vivian Mason Daniel
Mrs. Laura Mansfield Richards Hitt
Miss Eleanor Chamberlain Sullivan
Mrs. Macon Sale Fitzhugh Rowe

Index

Abingdon Parish, 11
Abingdon Parish Register, 8
Adam, Robert, 34
Adam, William, 34
Albemarle County, 167
Alden, Timothy, *Collection of Epitaphs, quoted,* 146, 175
Alexander, Gerard, 81
Alexander, Robert, 82
Alexandria, Virginia, 33, 57, 84, 107, 115, 125, 142, 159
Allan, James, 29, 86
Alton, John, 56
Amelia Street, Fredericksburg, 31
American Society of Landscape Architects, 204
Annapolis, Maryland, 153
Appleby, England, 17
Appomattox Church, 18
Appomattox Parish, 16
Ariss, John, probable architect of Kenmore, 33, 34, 35
Arlington, Virginia, 81
Arlington (Alexander estate), 81
Ashby, Robert, 71
Ashby's bend, 71
Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 188
Athens, Georgia, birthplace of Mrs. Fleming, 187
Audley (Frederick Co.), (estate of Lawrence Lewis), 180, 182
Austins Desire, 2
Aylett, William, 111, 115

Bacon, Nathaniel, 9
Bacon's Spring, 9
Baker, Anthony, 72
Baldwin, Frank C., F.A.I.A., 198
Ball, Mrs. Edmund Burke, 229
Ball, James, 40
Ball, Col. Joseph, father of Mary Washington, 18, 40
Ball, Joseph, half brother of Mary Washington, 23
Ball, Mary (Johnson), mother of Mary Washington, 18
Ball, William, grandfather of Mary Washington, 18
Baltimore, Maryland, 159, 184
Barney, Mrs. Julia Carter, 261
Barrett, Kate (Waller), 186
Barter Theater, 229
Barton, Seth, 184
Barton, William S., 186
Bassett, Billy, 63
Bassett, Burwell, brother-in-law of George Washington, 72, 148
Bassett, George, 125
Baylor, George, 181

Index

Baytop, James, 29
Beardsley, Levi, 186
Beech Spring, 6
Belvoir, estate of Robert Lewis, 7
Benkard, Mrs. Harry Horton, 203
Bergen County, New Jersey, 139
Berkeley, Sir William, 27
Berkeley County, 94, 143, 172
Berkeley Springs, 127
Berry, Joseph, 161
Bethlehem, 139
Betsy (ship), 71
Birckhead, Mrs. E. F., 191
Birkhead, Mrs. Mary K., 261
Blair, Mr., 69
Bland, Richard, 65, 69, 75
Bloom, Sol, 225
Blount, Jacob, 121
Blue Ridge Mountains, 58
Bonhum, Elizabeth (Johnson), aunt of George Washington, 18
Bori, Lucrezia, 196
Boston, Massachusetts, 84–85, 86, 91, 152
Boswell, Captain, 71
Bowling Green, Virginia, 63, 94
Braxton, Carter, 69, 77
Brecon, Wales, 4
Bridges Creek (Westmoreland Co.), 16
Brock, Joseph, 87
Brooke, George, 135
Brooke, Richard, 13, 98, 143
Browne, Judith Carter, 163
Browne, William Burnet, 163
Buchanan, Mr., 45
Buckland, William, 33
Buckner, John, 27, 28, 29
Buckner, Mordecai, 87, 105
Buckner, Mrs., 45
Buckner, Samuel, 29
Burk, John, *History of Virginia, quoted,* 64–65, 67, 91, 94, 110
Burnaby, Andrew, *quoted,* 32, 98
Burwell, Carter, 33
Burwell, Robert, 71, 72
Bushfield, estate of John Augustine Washington, 126, 156
Bushrod, John, 34, 35
Butler, Gen. & Mrs. Smedley, 193
Butler, Mr., 58
Byrd, Gov. & Mrs. Harry Flood, 196
Byrd, The (Goochland Co.), estate of Charles Lewis, 7
Byrd, Thomas, 181
Byrd, William, *quoted,* 32

Callendar, Captain, 115
Cambridge, Maryland, 59, 100
Camden, New Jersey, 132
Campbell, Andrew, 13
Carlton, General, 106
Carlyle, John, 33
Carlyle House (Alexandria), estate of John Carlyle, 33
Caroline County, 110
Caroline Court House, 63
Caroline Street, Fredericksburg, 21, 31, 140
Carpenter, Mr., 129
Carroll, Mrs., 159
Carter, Betty (Lewis), daughter of Fielding Lewis, 70, 126–28, 141–42, 146, 163, 167, 168, 173, 175, 182–83
Carter, Charles, 33, 66, 72, 141, 156, 163, 173
Carter, Edward, 42, 142
Carter, Elizabeth, stepsister of Fielding Lewis, 9
Carter, George, 71
Carter, John, 15
Carter, Robert, first husband of Priscilla Lewis, 9
Carter, Robert, stepbrother of Fielding Lewis, 9, 11, 60, 61
Carter, Robert "King," 9
Carter, Sarah Champe, 142
Carter's Grove, estate of Carter Burwell, 33
Cary, Archibald, 65, 75, 77, 120
Cary, Robert & Company, 54, 59
Charles River County, 1
Charles Street, Fredericksburg, 90
Chatham (on Rappahannock River), estate of William Fitzhugh, 54, 66
Chemokins Plantation, 7
Chesapeake Bay, 2, 97
Chescake (on Pianketank River), Warner estate, 4
Chewning, Mrs. Anne Page, 262
Chicago, 196
Christian, Captain, 104

Index

Clarke County. *See* Fredericksburg County
Cleve (King George Co.), estate of Charles Carter, 33, 71
Clinton, George, 111
Cockburn, Martin, 96
Colchester, 57
Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia, 194
Common Sense, Thomas Paine, 112
Cooke, Thomas, 110
Coolidge, Vice-President & Mrs. Calvin, 192
Coor, James, 121
Corbin, Gawin, 33
Corey, Herbert, 191
Cornelius, Charles O., 198, 203
Cornwallis, Lord, 123, 143, 147
Corotoman Creek (Lancaster Co.), residence of William Ball, 18
Craig, Adam, 111
Craig, John, 107
Cresop, Colonel, 113
Crittenden, Christopher, *quoted,* 134–45
Crowninshield, Mrs. Francis B., President of Kenmore Association, 218, 227, 229
Cruikshank, Alexander, 29
Culpeper County, 110, 175
Cumberland, Fort, 113, 165
Custis, Eleanor (Calvert), 179
Custis, George Washington Parke, 52, 81, 122, 179
Custis, John Parke, 81, 148, 179
Custis, Patsy, 63, 73, 79

Dade, Henry, 181
Daily Star, 188, 190, 191
Daily Whig (Richmond newspaper), 177, 182
Dalton, John, 107, 108–9, 115
Dandridge, Betsy, 57
Dangerfield, William, 87, 105
Daniel, Mrs. Marion Mason, 262
Daniel, Miss Vivian Mason, 262
Daughters of the American Revolution, 189, 191, 197; Culpeper Minute Men Chapter, 174; Washington-Lewis Chapter, 190–91
Davies, Colonel, 99
Dawson, Mrs., 72
Dick, Charles, 14, 28, 39, 40, 72, 77, 78, 85, 87, 88, 95, 97, 113, 116, 117, 121, 131, 134
Dick, Mary, 37, 70, 82
Dick, Nelly, 82
Dinwiddie, Robert, 43, 44
Dismal Swamp, 58
Dismal Swamp Land Company, 72
Dixon, Roger, 41, 54, 71, 73, 77, 99
Doegs Creek, 79
Domville, Sieur, 42
Donne, Edward, Jr., F.A.I.A., 198
Downs, Henry, 13
Dragon (ship), 119
Dromedary Co., Inc., 227–28
Dumfries, Virginia, 84, 108, 155, 158
Duncanson, James, 71, 85
Dunmore, Lord, 91, 106, 111, 112
Dunmore County, 94, 110

Eastern Shore, 105, 111
East River Sound, 139
Eckenrode, H. J., *quoted,* 119
Eckenrode, Mrs. Kate Dunn, 261
Edinburgh, Scotland, 60
Elizabethtown Point, New Jersey, 139
Elliott, William, 105
Elsing Green (King William Co.), estate of the Brownes, 163
Eltham (New Kent Co.), estate of Burwell Bassett, 148
Epping Forest (Lancaster Co.), home of George Washington's grandfather, 18
Essex County, 110

Fairfax, Colonel, 137–38
Fairfax, George William, 59
Fairfax, Lord, 13
Fairfax, William, 42, 43
Fairfax County, 81, 146, 162
Falmouth, Virginia, 20, 32, 125, 185
Falmouth Church (Brunswick Parish), 20
Farley, Francis, 72
Fauntleroy, Mr., 61
Fauquier, Francis, 64–65, 66
Fauquier County, 57, 71, 110
Federal Hill (Fredericksburg), 207

Index

Ferry Farm (on the Rappahannock), home of the Washingtons, 19, 21, 22, 26, 52, 79, 90, 125
Fielding, Henry, grandfather of Fielding Lewis, 7
Fithian, Philip, *quoted*, 94
Fitzhugh, Daniel, 29
Fitzhugh, William, 54, 65, 66, 71, 97, 102
Fleming, Captain, 105
Fleming, Emily (White), first president of Kenmore Association, 15, 91, 152, 186–209, 230, 261
Fleming, Vivian Minor, 187
Fowey (man-of-war), 91
Frazer, John, 151
Frederick, Prince of Wales, 31
Frederick County, 44, 54, 58, 94, 127–28, 143–44, 162–63, 172, 176, 181–83
Frederick Street, Fredericksburg, 31
Fredericksburg, Texas, 231
Fredericksburg, Virginia, 12, 13, 19, 21, 24–33, 35, 39–43, 55, 59, 60, 63, 69, 71, 73, 76–80, 84–89, 91, 92–97, 100, 101, 103, 107, 111–14, 116–18, 120–22, 130, 134, 136, 143–48, 152–56, 161–62, 164–65, 167, 170, 172, 177, 184–95, 214, 225–29
Fredericksburg Church (St. George's Parish), 39
Free Lance Star, 226
Freeman, Douglas Southall, *quoted*, 229
Fry, John, 59
Fry, Joshua, 13

Gale, George, 17
Gale, Mildred (Warner) Washington, grandmother of George Washington, 17
Garden Club of Virginia, 204–9
Garnett National Bank (Fredericksburg), 186
Gates, General, 132
George II, King of England, 31
George Street, Fredericksburg, 186
Georgetown, Virginia, 108, 159
Germanna, Virginia, 31, 98, 105
Gigli, Beniamino, 196
Gillette, Charles F., F.A.S.L.A., 204, 206
Gilmer, George, 13
Gist, S., 72
Glasgow, Scotland, 32
Gloucester County, 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 12, 17, 24, 27, 40
Gooch, Sir William, 14
Goolrick, Mrs. C. O'Connor, 190, 261
Goolrick, Mrs. Frances B., 261
Goose Creek, 71
Gordon, Conway, 186
Gordon, Eliza, 185
Gordon, John, 13
Gordon, Samuel, 185
Gordon, Susan Fitzhugh (Knox), 185
Gordon, William K., 185
Gosport, home of Mr. Sprowl, 112
Gouldman, John F., 186
Gravatt, Miss Sallie Nelson, 261
Great Kanawha, home of Howell Lewis, 147
Green, Timothy, 146
Greene, General, 140
Greenleaf, James L., 204
Greenway Court (Frederick Co.), residence of Lord Fairfax, 58
Gregory, Roger, 17
Grier, James, 114
Grymes, Benjamin, 66, 73
Gunston Hall, home of George Mason, 33, 109

Hall, Elisha, 155
Hamilton, James, 70
Hammond, Thomas, 220
Hancock, John, 100, 116
Hannah (schooner), 115
Hanover County, 56, 115
Harewood (Berkeley Co.), home of Samuel Washington, 166
Harrison, Benjamin, 65, 77
Harrison, H. C., 185
Hay, Anthony, 79
Hazel Run, 54, 99
Hedgeman, Peter, 13
Heflin, E. G., 186
Henderson, Archibald, *quoted*, 164
Hendricks, Major, 105
Henry, Patrick, 67, 68, 75, 89–90, 104, 111, 119, 123
Highgate (Gloucester Co.), home of John Washington, 13

Index

Historic Garden Week, 205, 208
Hitt, Mrs. Laura Mansfield Richards, 262
Hobbs Hole, 115
Holloway, James L., 230
Hostess House (Quantico), 193
Howard, Clarence R., 186
Howard, William Key, 186
Howard, William K., Jr., 186
Howe, General, 126
Hubbard's Ordinary (inn), 63, 73
Hunter, James, Jr., 53, 78, 111
Hunter's Iron Works, 97

Jackson, Robert, 26, 39, 42
James City County, 1
James Monroe High School, 230
James Monroe Law Office, 228
James River, 142
Jamestown, Virginia, 9
Jefferson, Peter, 13
Jefferson, Thomas, 101, 123, 132, 135, 192
Jett, Miss Dora Chinn, 261
Jockey Club, 21
Johnston, Evin Price, 151
Jones, David, 19
Jones, Hugh, *The Present State of Virginia, quoted,* 61, 64
Jones, John, 82
Jones, John Paul, 230
Jones, William, 118
Jordan, Mr., 68
Julian, John, 114

Kemp's Landing, 112
Kenawha River, 178
Kenmore (Spotsylvania Co.), home of Fielding Lewis, 24, 28, 119, 142, 148, 152, 154, 164, 166, 168, 171, 174; purchase of land, 27–30; construction of building, 33–36; description, 46–54; Mary Washington's house, 124; sale, partial, 150–51; post-Lewis owners, 184–86; acquisition by Kenmore Association, 187–95; dedication, 195; restoration, 195–209; floor plan, 213; description, contemporary, 210–13; services, 225–33
Kenmore Association, 152, 191–209, 217, 224–32
Kenmore Children's Brigade, 227
Kercheval, Mr., 128–29
Kimball, Fiske, *quoted,* 34, 36, 219, 223
King, Ernest J., 230
King and Queen County, 4, 7, 63, 110
King George County, 20, 24, 75, 110, 193
King's Arms (inn, Williamsburg), 63
Kingsbridge, New York, 139
King William County, 56
King William Court House, 63
Kirkcudbright, Scotland, 185
Knox, Henry, 153

Lafayette, Marquis de, 140, 154, 177, 194, 227
Langley, Batty, *City and Country Builder's Treasury,* 219
Lee, Francis Lightfoot, 65
Lee, Henry, 102
Lee, Richard Henry, 6, 65, 68, 69, 77, 113, 123
Lee, Robert E., 192
Lee, Thomas Ludwell, 75, 102
Leitch, Captain, 108
Lewis, Ann (Alexander), 76, 81, 128–29, 162, 173
Lewis, Augustine, son of Fielding Lewis, 26
Lewis, Betty (Washington), 13; birth, 18; childhood, 19–21; marriage, 24–25; housewifely duties, 50–56; slaves, 50–51; war activities, 123–29; letter to George Washington, *quoted,* 144–45; widowhood, 149–75; will, 174–75; portrait, 218–19
Lewis, Catharine (Daingerfield), 162
Lewis, Catharine (Washington), first wife of Fielding, 13, 15
Lewis, Charles, brother of Fielding, 8, 26, 29, 41
Lewis, Charles, son of Fielding, 46, 80, 81
Lewis, Charles, uncle of Fielding, 7
Lewis, Edward, 6
Lewis, Eleanor Parke (Custis), 179–80
Lewis, Elizabeth, 11
Lewis, Elizabeth (Jones), 183
Lewis, Elizabeth (Thornton), 183
Lewis, Elizabeth (Warner), grandmother of Fielding, 4, 6–7, 11, 17

Lewis, Ellen Hackley (Pollard), 178
Lewis, Fielding: childhood, 8–13; business and public offices, 13–15, 64–74; church office, 38–39; interest in Fredericksburg, 41; French and Indian War, 43; library, 48–49; relations with George Washington, 58–59, 78–81; pre-Revolution activities, 83–85; arms factory, 97–121; decline in fortune, 130–43; will, 149, 150; portrait, 218
Lewis, Fielding, Jr., 12–13, 26, 81, 93, 127–28, 143, 146, 150, 167, 173, 175, 180–82, 183
Lewis, Frances, 70
Lewis, Frances (Fielding), mother of Fielding, 7, 9
Lewis, George, son of Fielding, 37, 80, 81, 93, 104, 122–23, 146, 150, 162, 165–66, 173–74, 175, 180, 183, 222
Lewis, Howell, son of Fielding, 82, 124, 147, 149, 151–52, 165–67, 169, 175, 177–78, 183
Lewis, Colonel I. N., 193
Lewis, John, brother of Fielding, 6–7, 8, 17, 26
Lewis, John, father of Fielding, 7–8, 9, 11, 40
Lewis, John, first American ancestor (1594–1657), 5
Lewis, John, son of Fielding, 15, 26, 105, 112, 118, 140, 144, 145, 150, 183, 184
Lewis, John, Jr., grandfather of Fielding, 6–7
Lewis, Judith Carter (Browne), 163
Lewis, Lawrence, son of Fielding, 70, 125–26, 146, 149, 151, 161, 165–66, 172, 175, 178–80, 181
Lewis, Lidia, 6
Lewis, Lucy, 26
Lewis, Lucy (Thornton), 183
Lewis, Mary, daughter of Fielding, 46
Lewis, Mary Ann (Fontaine) Armistead, 183
Lewis, Mildred Ann (Carter) Mercer, 183
Lewis, Nancy, 173
Lewis, Priscilla (Churchill) Carter, stepmother of Fielding, 9
Lewis, Robert, 4
Lewis, Robert, son of Fielding, 76, 125, 146, 149, 151, 154, 157–58, 163, 167, 175, 176–77, 183, 217
Lewis, Robert, uncle of Fielding, 7
Lewis, Samuel, son of Fielding, 88
Lewis, Warner, brother of Fielding, 8, 11, 103
Lewis, Warner, son of Fielding, 37
Lewis, William, 1
Lewis Spring, 181
Lewis's Addition, 41
Lexington (battle), 91
Liverpool, England, 26, 60, 71
Lochdongan, Scottish estate of Samuel Gordon, 185
Lomax, Lunsford, 13
London, England, 54, 60, 68
Long Island, New York, 203
Lord Baltimore (ship), 68
Loudon, Fort, 43, 58
Lowe, John, 151
Luca, Giuseppe de, 196
Lucas, Mrs., 152
Lucy Cobb Institute, 187
Lurty, Captain, 107
McClanahan, Major, 105
McGuire, Robert Lewis, 177
McWilliams, Mayor (Fredericksburg), 164
Mannsfield (estate in Spotsylvania Co.), 34
Marmion (King George Co.), home of George Lewis, 71, 72, 81, 162, 163
Marshall, Major, 104
Marshall, Thomas, 66
Martinico, 118
Marye, James, 21, 24, 39, 84
Marye, Peter, 73, 76
Maryland Gazette, quoted, 33
Mary Washington College, University of Virginia, 229
Mary Washington House, 205
Mason, George, 33, 96, 102, 109, 123
Masonic Order, 40
Massachusetts Historical Society, 146
Mattaponi River, 41, 63, 172
Mattapony Church (St. George's Parish), 39
Matthews, George, 101, 105
Maury, James, 136, 175

Index

Mercer, Hugh, 77, 87, 103, 105
Mercer, James, 86, 87, 88, 92, 95, 112, 121, 166
Mercer, Judge, 156
Merchant Tailor's School (London, England), 4
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City), 198, 203, 218, 222
Metropolitan Opera House (New York City), 196
Middlesex County, 110
Mill Brook (plantation near Fredericksburg), 170
Mississippi River, 66
Mobjack Bay, 1
Monmouthshire, England, 5
Monroe, James, 228
Montgomery, Richard, 100, 106
Moon, Mrs. Bessie Birdsall, 261
Moore, Bernard, 77
Moore, Charles, *quoted*, 19, 176, 192, 205
Moore, R. Walton, 192
Morgan, General, 146, 166
Morristown, New Jersey, 101, 122, 137, 139
Mortimer, Charles, 52, 85, 95, 155
Mount Airy (estate in Richmond Co.), 34
Mount Vernon, home of George Washington, 19, 21, 25, 34, 45, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 122, 128, 146, 147, 148, 150–54, 157, 158–59, 166, 171, 174, 178, 179, 180, 191, 192, 212, 221
Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 216
Muse, Battaile, 163
Muter, George, 116

Naval Academy (Annapolis, Maryland), 230
Naylor's hole, 61
Nelson, Thomas, 72
Nelson, William, 110
Newburg, New York, 145
New Kent County, 2, 4, 6
News Leader (Richmond newspaper), *quoted*, 229–30
New York, 58, 157, 159, 160, 176, 224
New York Historical Society, 146
Nicholas, Robert Carter, 104, 137–38
Nimitz, Chester W., 231
Nomini Hall (Westmoreland County), home of Robert Carter, Sr., 9, 61
Norfolk, Virginia, 112
Northern Neck, 21, 24, 113
North Hill (Frederick Co.), home of Edward Carter, 181, 182
North River, New York, 139

Opekan, Frederick Co., 71
Orange County, 110
Oxford University, England, 16

Page, Mann, 54, 77, 102, 105, 112, 113, 131, 141, 144
Page, Mann, Jr., 92, 97
Palace Street, Williamsburg, 64
Pamunkey Church (St. George's Parish), 39
Pamunkey River, 56, 63
Parker's Ordinary (inn), 63, 73
Parks, Andrew, 170–71
Paterson's Creek, 58
Patsey (sloop), 115
Peachy, William, 105
Peaks-kill, New York, 142
Peasley, Henry, 11
Peasley School, 11
Peckastone (Westmoreland Co.), home of Gawin Corbin, 33
Pendleton, Edmund, 65, 69, 94, 102, 115
Petsworth Parish, 6
Peyton, Sir John, 114, 118
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 101, 105–8, 110, 112, 116, 126, 142, 144, 163, 167, 169, 172, 176, 178
Phillips, General, 141
Phillips, Mrs., 60
Phillips, Samuel, Jr., 152
Phillips Academy (Andover, Massachusetts), 152
Pitt, Fort, 165
Pocahontas, 9
Pope, Nathaniel, 16
Pope's Creek, site of George Washington's birth, 18
Poquoson, 1
Po River, 39
Poropotank Creek, 4, 6
Porter, William, 85
Porterfield, Robert, 229

Portland, Maine, 33
Portsmouth, Virginia, 132
Potomac River, 71, 108, 126, 141
Potter, William, 12
Powhatan, 9
Princess Anne Street, Fredericksburg, 21, 31
Princess Elizabeth Street, Fredericksburg, 31
Princeton (battle), 122
Princeton (University, Princeton, New Jersey), 81
Purleigh, Essex, England, 16
Pynie Neck, 1

Quantico, 226
Quebec, Canada, 106

Raleigh Tavern (inn, Williamsburg), 63, 83
Randall, Catharine, 70
Randolph, Peyton, 43, 92, 94
Rappahannock Church (St. George's Parish), 39–40
Rappahannock County, 2, 27
Rappahannock River, 19, 21, 25, 28, 30, 33, 56, 60, 61, 71, 75, 103, 107, 113, 117, 125, 187
Reade, Elizabeth (Martiau), 4
Reade, George, 4
Red Lion (inn, Williamsburg), 63
Reed, Joseph, 100
Rice, Thomas, 70
Richmond, Virginia, 96, 142, 178, 204, 225
Richmond County, 110
Riddick, Major, 73
Rising Sun Tavern, 188
Robinson, John, 72
Rockingham, Lord, 68
Rocky Hill, Fredericksburg, 21
Roosevelt, Governor and Mrs. Franklin Delano, 196
Roosevelt, Theodore, Jr., 193
Rothier, Leon, 196
Rowe, M. B., 261
Rowe, Mrs. Macon Sale Fitzhugh, 262
Royston, Ann, 28–29
Royston, Richard Wiatt, 27–29
Royston, Thomas, 27, 28, 29
Rutherford, Thomas, 67

Sabine Hall (on the Rappahannock), 216
St. Clair, Sir John, 43
St. George's Church (Fredericksburg), 38, 144, 161, 177
St. George's Parish, 40, 76, 137, 144
St. John's Church (Richmond), 89
St. Nicholas Church, Whitehaven, Cumberland, England, 17
St. Peter's Church, 7
Scott, Captain, 104
Sea Horse of London (ketch), 16
Selden, Samuel, 97
Severne County, 2
Severn River, 2, 3, 8
Shenandoah River, 58, 180
Shenandoah Valley, 58, 143
Sheradine Point, 79
Sinclair, Captain, 77
Slaughter, Franklin, 185
Smith, Annie (Fleming), 188, 190, 191, 226, 229–30, 261
Smith, Austin, 31
Smith, Captain John, 9, 30
Smith, Meriwether, 113
Smith, Mrs. S. Fahe, 217
Smith, William, 86
Somerset Court House, 123
Sophia Street, Fredericksburg, 31
Spotswood, Alexander, 31, 98, 104
Spotswood, John, 14
Spotsylvania County, 12–14, 25, 31, 32, 38, 40, 41, 44, 47, 51, 56, 62, 73, 74, 85–88, 97, 110, 118, 120, 131, 147, 150, 151, 175, 184
Spring Hill, 177
Sprowl, Mr., 112
Stafford County, 24, 75, 110
Stephen, Mary Washington's coachman, 155
Stephens, A., 105
Stern, Philip, A.I.A., 198
Stoffregan, Mrs. Gilmore Martin, 261
Stoneburner, W., 108
Stowe, Captain, 73
Stratford Hotel (Fredericksburg), 228
Stuart, Dr., 159
Stubblefield, Harry, 86, 87
Sullivan, Eleanor Chamberlain, 262
Sullivan, Mark, 191
Syme, J., 72

Index

Tabb, Mr., 69
Taliaferro, Mary, 26
Taylor, Richard, 110
Thornton, Francis, 70, 77, 87, 88
Thornton, Mrs. Francis, 26
Thornton, Francis, Jr., 158
Thornton, George, 76, 85, 87, 88, 95, 103
Thornton, John, 40, 44
Thornton, John T., 185
Thornton, Susan H., 40
Times (New York newspaper), *quoted*, 196
Todd's Bridge, 63
Towles, Thomas, 86
Towls, Oliver, 86
Townshend, Lord, 68
Traverse family, 54
Trenton, New Jersey, 117
Trumbull, Jonathan, Jr., 148
Trumbull, Joseph, 117
Tuck, Gov. and Mrs. William H., 228
Tucker, Henry St. George, 229
Tucker, Robert, 72
Tutt, James, 143

Urquhart, Mr., 160

Vaged Point, 115
Valentine, James, 73
Valley Forge, 123
Virginia Gazette, *quoted*, 42, 51, 68, 70, 71, 76, 84, 91, 92, 103, 161
Virginia Herald and Falmouth Advertiser (Fredericksburg newspaper), *quoted*, 146
Virginia Historical Society, 154

Walker, James, 120
Walker, Thomas, 72
Wallace family, 54
Ware's Church (Gloucester Co.), 205
Warner, Augustine, 1–2, 3, 10
Warner, Augustine, Jr., 3–4, 10, 11, 17
Warner, James, 82
Warner, Mary, 2, 10
Warner, Mildred (Reade), 4, 10, 11
Warner Hall (on Severn River), home of Augustine Warner, 2–3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 32, 48
Warrenton, North Carolina, 206
Washington, Ann (Fairfax), 25
Washington, Ann (Pope), 16, 25
Washington, Augustine, father of George, 13, 17, 20, 149, 187
Washington, Augustine, half brother of George, 18, 20, 22
Washington, Bushrod, 159
Washington, Catharine (Whiting), mother of Catharine Lewis, 13, 17
Washington, Charles, brother of George, 19, 25, 26, 39, 40, 44, 70, 77, 79, 85, 86, 87, 88, 103, 118, 143, 166, 216
Washington, Frances (Bassett), 166
Washington, George: birth, 18; early life, 19–26; Kenmore, advice on, 35; French and Indian War, 43; burgess, 44, 65; commander-in-chief, 95; campaigns, 122–23, 139; postwar visit to Fredericksburg, 153–54; President, 156–57; Southern tour, 163–64; Lewis children, interest in, 176–83; correspondence, *quoted*, 55, 56, 59, 100–1, 117, 137–38, 139–40, 142, 145, 147–48, 156, 163, 167, 171; diary, *quoted*, 53, 55, 57, 58, 63, 72, 77, 78, 79, 155
Washington, George Augustine, 162, 166
Washington, Hannah, 70, 126
Washington, Harriot, niece of George, 166–70, 172
Washington, Jane, half sister of George, 18, 19
Washington, Jane (Butler), 17–18
Washington, John, father of Catharine Lewis, 13, 17
Washington, John, first American Washington, 16–17
Washington, John Augustine, brother of George, 19, 25, 73, 156
Washington, Lawrence, grandfather of George, 16
Washington, Lawrence, half brother of George, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 30
Washington, Lawrence, nephew of George, 166
Washington, Lund, 212
Washington, Martha, 16
Washington, Martha (Dandridge) Custis, wife of George, 16, 56, 142, 148, 157–59, 167–68, 212, 214, 221

Index

Washington, Mary (Ball), mother of Betty and George, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 52, 56, 90–91, 124–27, 149, 153–61, 181, 184, 187, 194, 207, 215, 221, 225, 227
Washington, Mildred, aunt of George, 17
Washington, Mildred, sister of George, 19
Washington, Richard, 58
Washington, Samuel, brother of George, 19, 79, 143, 145, 166
Washington, Samuel, nephew of George, 166
Washington, Warner, 70
Washington Avenue, Fredericksburg, 190
Waterman, Thomas, 34
Waters, William, 72
Weedon, General, 156
Weedon, George, 54, 77, 117
Weedon, Joseph, 105
Weedon's Tavern (Fredericksburg), 89
Wellford, Robert, *quoted*, 165
Werewocomo, 9
West Augusta County, 110
Western View (Culpeper Co.), home of Charles Carter, 163, 172, 174
Westfall, Captain, 114
White, Rebecca (Benedict), mother of Mrs. Fleming, 187
White, William N., father of Mrs. Fleming, 187
White Chapel Church (Lancaster Co.), 40
White House (New Kent Co.), Martha Custis's home, 56
William and Mary College, 11
Williamsburg, Virginia, 12, 18, 31, 59, 60, 62, 63–70, 72, 73, 78–80, 83–84, 91–94, 98, 102, 104, 113, 115, 117–20, 197
Williams Ferry, 163
Williams Gap, 71
William Street, Fredericksburg, 140
Willis, Mrs. Carrie Hunter, 261
Willis, Colonel, 33, 54
Willis, Henry, 17
Willis, Lewis, 37, 77, 86, 87, 88
Willis, Mildred, 25, 76
Willis, M. G., 261
Wilton, home of William Randolph II, 33
Winchester, Virginia, 40, 58, 128, 165, 183
Wollaston, John, 216
Wood, Colonel, 42
Woodford, William, 54, 85, 104
Woodlawn (on Mount Vernon estate), home of Lawrence Lewis, 125, 180, 181
Wormley, Mr., 80
Wythe, George, 65, 68

Yard, Isabella Lewis, 5–6
Yard, Robert, 6
Yates, Charles, 37, 79, 85
York, Pennsylvania, 217
York County, 1, 2
York River, 1, 9, 68, 91
Yorktown, Virginia, 147



Lewis

Originals of coats of arms of Lewis and Washington families



Washington

owned by the Kenmore Association in Fredericksburg, Virginia